

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## ILLINOIS PUTS BITE IN POLLUTION FIGHT

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 8, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, later this month communities, colleges, high schools, and various organizations and institutions will be commemorating "Earth Day," a day set aside for re-evaluating our goals and renewing our determination to preserve the vital ecological processes that support all life on this tiny planet of ours.

We have heard a good deal in recent months about the need to combat pollution in our country. I am proud indeed to represent the State in the Union that has surged to the forefront in enacting strong, enforceable legislation that protects its citizens.

The attorney general of Illinois now can bring suit against polluters or potential polluters without waiting for a State pollution board to request action. He can also impose heavy fines and prison terms if polluters—either individuals or corporations represented by their presidents—fail to take corrective measures within certain prescribed time-tables.

Under this new legislation, Illinois has yet to lose a pollution case. The attorney general's office is determined to prosecute those who exhibit little or no regard for the rights of others.

I am proud to represent Illinois in this Congress. In order that my colleagues might learn a little more of our landmark legislation in my State, I am inserting an article on this subject which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor.

Mr. Speaker, this timely article follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor,  
Apr. 3, 1970]

## ILLINOIS PUTS BITE IN POLLUTION FIGHT—STATE GETS MUSCLE FROM AROUSED PUBLIC AND TOUGH NEW LAWS

(By Merelice Kundratiss)

CHICAGO.—Pollution is against the law. But that doesn't mean much unless someone prosecutes.

The prosecutor? In Illinois it is William J. Scott, Attorney General. In all probability, Illinois has given its Attorney General the strongest legislation in the nation for his legal battle against the people who pollute.

Attorney General Scott took office in January, 1969, when the state had no department and no money to fight pollution—and no great push and cry from an outraged public.

Two significant changes took place in the following months as bipartisan support pushed through legislation with just a nine-vote margin.

The Attorney General now can bring suit against polluters or potential polluters in Illinois without waiting for a state pollution board to request action.

Penalties were stiffened not only in the area of fines but more effectively in the area

of prison terms. If a polluter (an individual or a corporation as represented by its president) fails to correct illegal pollution within a certain time schedule, he can be imprisoned for six months.

## AGENCIES VULNERABLE

"The Attorney General's philosophy," explains Allen A. Freeman, deputy attorney general, "is that his office serves not only as a lawyer for agencies of government but as the attorney of the people." What that means in practice is that even government agencies can feel the pinch of a crackdown on polluters.

"The State of Illinois itself is a polluter," concedes Mr. Freeman. Federal installations like some military bases he dubs as "horrendous polluters."

At the local level, cities like Democratic Chicago and Republican Lake Forest have had suits brought against them.

"There can't be any exceptions," stresses Mr. Freeman, pacing rapidly his office floor. "Once we show partiality, we lose the respect of the people and we're no longer the citizens' lawyer."

## PUBLIC CREDITED

Mr. Freeman credits public indignation for the Attorney General's office being able to bring suits against major industries and still remain unhampered by queasy politicians.

"Public wrath and demands are so great that any political interference would result in the politician's defeat and eliminate him from politics," contends Mr. Freeman. "But we must always be alert," he warns.

Hundreds of public complaints, some spurred by NBC-TV programs and editorials here, are being investigated.

Mr. Freeman's optimism is not shared by all antipollution workers here. Many specialists still feel that certain public officials protect industries which, in turn, make political contributions. But the fact remains that Attorney General Scott's office is going after some big ones.

## SUITS FILED

This action would not have occurred before the new legislation, maintains Mr. Freeman, since the commissions and boards formerly responsible for policing polluters often included representatives of the industrial polluters themselves. Such board members would protect industry rather than deal with pollution, he says.

But with clear-cut, overriding jurisdiction in court action, the Attorney General has been able to file suits against such companies as United States Steel, Republic Steel, Wisconsin Steel, Interlake Steel, North Shore Sanitary District, Commonwealth Edison Company, Monsanto, American Zinc, Socony-Mobil, Witco Chemical, Chicago Copper & Fuel, some 23 airlines, and the four major auto manufacturers.

"We haven't lost a pollution case," notes Mr. Freeman. "We've won nine straight, and we expect to win every one we try."

But the "box score" is not their main concern, says Mr. Freeman. "We're concerned with results and with changing industry's thinking on the matter. We hope for the day when it will not be necessary to file suits."

## MORE EFFORT URGED

One attorney general's office alone cannot turn the tide, stresses Mr. Freeman as he urges efforts at all levels from village attorneys to the federal government.

The Illinois Attorney General is not opposed to negotiating with administrative bodies, notes Mr. Freeman. But so far the record shows that negotiations result in endless conferences and delays since it always

costs money to install antipollution devices and abolish existing pollution.

"The swiftest, surest way to show that we mean business is to:

"File a law suit;

"Present evidence;

"Win the case;

"Secure an order on the defendant to install antipollution devices;

"Set a time schedule under court supervision to see that the schedule is carried out."

Mr. Freeman contends: "Elimination of pollution must be as fast as humanly possible under present-day technology."

## HOW MUCH, HOW FAST?

Here, too, Illinois could be the most advanced in its crackdown on polluters. Technical experts and university advisers double-check agreements made between polluters and the state to confirm how much can be done how fast.

Attorney General Scott also tries to use the law in new ways. In a case still pending before the Illinois Commerce Commission, his office argued that good and efficient management in the public interest must include provisions for eliminating pollution. Commonwealth Edison Company, a polluter, was requesting a rate increase.

The public protest against the company and its request was one of the most organized and broad-based that the city has recently seen. Since the public hearing, the utility company has announced impressive steps toward reducing pollution. And Mr. Freeman now compliments the firm for its "open, frank, honorable change of policy."

## EFFORT NATIONWIDE

Attorney General Scott's efforts are also becoming nationwide now that he is chairman of the newly formed Environmental Control Committee of the National Association of Attorneys General. Through this committee, the attorneys general expect to:

Develop a clearinghouse of legal and environmental experts.

Distribute to state legislatures antipollution legislation empowering other state attorneys general to take prompt legal action.

Distribute environmental information about legislation and litigation to all attorneys general.

Join in litigation against polluters when appropriate.

JULIAN STEELE

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 8, 1970

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, for the many who knew him, or even knew of him, the recent death of Julian Steele was a truly tragic event.

If any man in Massachusetts personified the word "activist," it was Julian. At the time of his death he was commissioner of the State department of community affairs, but this was only one of the many interests he pursued so competently and vigorously in his rich and fulfilling lifetime.

I counted myself as privileged to be among those who called Julian a friend. Whenever we worked together on projects to improve Massachusetts, I was

continually impressed by his talent and skill. Even more, however, I was impressed by Julian Steele the man—by his outlook on life, and by his infectious spirit of drive and accomplishment.

It is with sorrow at his passing, and with pride at having known him, that I am today including in the RECORD an editorial from the Commerce Digest, which conveys, to a small extent, some of the feeling that those of us who knew Julian had for him:

JULIAN D. STEELE

Some who analyze these deeply troubled times, in which many of the young are preoccupied with drugs and rebellion, say that youth is alienated because of a lack of respect for elders.

One adult who did not fit this category was Julian D. Steele of West Newbury, the first Negro to head a Massachusetts department.

At the time of his recent death, he was Commissioner of the Department of Community Affairs, having previously served as head of the Urban Renewal Division of the Massachusetts Department of Commerce and Development.

Julian Steele was a man who became involved. For 19 years, he had served as Town Moderator of West Newbury. He had also been Executive Director of the Robert Gould Shaw Settlement House in Boston's South End; and he had served as Assistant Administrator for the regional office of the United States Housing and Home Finance Agency. He was a past president of the Boston Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a Vice Moderator of the Massachusetts Congressional Christian Conference.

Julian Steele was an educated man. He was proud of the fact that he graduated from Boston Public Latin School and was cum laude from Harvard in 1929. Building upon his education, his energetic interest in public affairs, and his sense of humanity, he acquired a large circle of good friends in very high places.

Governors, Congressmen, Legislators, mayors, councilors, selectmen, educators, and low and high ranking clergymen of several faiths worked with him, respected him, and knew him affectionately as "Julian".

If his education stands as an inspiration to fellow blacks, certainly, too, the way he handled his "blackness" should attract widespread attention. Those who knew him or worked with him never looked upon him as "black". This was to the great credit of the man and could well have been the result of his outlook on the matter, which he once expressed this way: "Human progress can be measured largely in terms of acceptance of difference as interesting and our common humanity as profoundly important."

Julian Steele was an exceptionally busy man with much to do. He was a hard-driving, demanding executive—a perfectionist and a loather of red tape.

His mind was on many projects: the welfare of his home town, housing for the poor and the elderly, the improvement of blighted areas. One program, project, or seminar overlapped another and there were always people to call, people to see, things to do, papers to sign.

Julian Steele always seemed to feel that his life would never be long enough for him to complete the many things he wanted to accomplish.

Perhaps this is why one of his favorite poems was Robert Frost's "Stopping By Woods On A Snowy Evening." Frost, who had stopped to watch the woods fill up with snow on "... The darkest evening of the year ..." concluded:

"... The woods are lovely dark and deep.  
But I have promises to keep,  
And miles to go before I sleep,  
And miles to go before I sleep."

Now he sleeps. Well done, Julian!

#### FEDERAL CRIME FUNDS

#### HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 8, 1970

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act was widely welcomed as a great advance in our efforts to lessen mounting crime rates. Yet experience with this act shows that its block grant provisions have created serious problems. The Detroit News carried an article on March 5, 1970, which details problems created when one sets up, through block grants, a new layer of administration where none existed before.

I insert this article in the RECORD and commend it to the attention of my colleagues who are working for effective law enforcement and crime control:

DETROIT, WITH 40 PERCENT OF STATE'S CRIME, GETS ONLY 18 PERCENT OF FEDERAL FUNDS TO FIGHT IT

(By Hugh McDonald)

WASHINGTON.—More than 40 percent of the crime in Michigan occurs in Detroit yet Detroit got only 18 percent of the \$1.05 million in federal anti-crime funds given Michigan last year.

Grand Rapids, population 205,000, and one of the cities where rioting helped prompt passing of the safe streets act in 1968, got only \$188 in federal funds.

That paid for two-thirds of the cost of two Polaroid cameras and one fingerprinting set.

Yet Ludington, a resort community of 9,500 on the shores of Lake Michigan, received a grant of \$17,000 to establish a regional police "investigators' school."

Largely rural Isabella County in mid-Michigan got \$18,000 for its sheriff's department to buy new radio equipment.

When Congress passed the crime control and safe streets act on June 6, 1968—two months after the rioting that followed Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination—and 20 hours after Senator Robert F. Kennedy was shot—backers hailed it as the "most important legislation ever passed" in the nation's efforts to halt crime.

It was designed primarily to help cities fight organized crime and prevent and control riots.

Under the act, block grants would be given each year to the states, which would distribute the funds to the communities as it saw fit.

Some congressmen expressed fears that the cities would be shortchanged, because states have traditionally been rurally oriented and are not equipped to parcel out money for cities' street crime problems.

House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford disagreed, however. He successfully led the battle to let states allocate the funds, rather than having the federal government provide direct grants to cities.

Ford's hometown is Grand Rapids. It applied for \$279,834 to establish a crime control lab and for riot control funds.

But it got only the \$188.

Lansing got only \$600. Ann Arbor got nothing.

"Some of the smaller communities had better projects planned," said Louis A. Rome, executive director of the Michigan Commission on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, which operates the state program.

"We have a heavy responsibility to disperse funds which will do some good, according to the intent of the law."

Delta County in the Upper Peninsula, with a population of nearly 100,000 less than Lansing's, got \$15,000 to train volunteer probation aides for work with misdemeanor offenders.

Largely rural Ogemaw, Gratiot, Sanilac and Osceola counties, which presumably have not been overrun with street rioting, received a total of \$10,028 for police radio equipment.

Fraser, a community of 13,000 in Macomb County, received three separate grants totaling \$5,325 to "fight organized crime." Livonia, on the other hand, with a population of 102,000 got nothing.

"The commission is as concerned about the situation as the communities that didn't get much," said Rome. "They know that crime exists mainly in the cities, but there's only so much to spread around."

For the \$1.05 million available to Michigan in fiscal 1968-69, there were more than 200 applications with requests totaling about \$6 million, Rome said.

All 28 members of the commission are appointed by Gov. William G. Milliken, who serves as chairman. Detroit has five members on the commission. Flint has one member, and Lansing and Saginaw have no local representation.

The rural counties, however, are disproportionately represented, the larger cities argue, and they ask why counties in the first place should get funds to fight street rioting and organized crime.

Detroit Mayor Gibbs, on the other hand, argues that the funds should not even be distributed on a population basis, but rather on rates of crime incidence.

Testifying at a congressional hearing on the safe streets act on Monday, Gibbs declared:

"I'm not saying that some sheriff in a village in northern Michigan shouldn't get a little something, but Detroit needs a larger share. The money should go where the crime is."

He said Detroit received \$247,000 last year, about 18 percent of the total allocated to Michigan. But although Detroit has only 19 percent of the state's population, he added, 40 percent of the crime in Michigan occurs in Detroit.

Gibbs proposed that the act be amended so that cities get at least half of the funds in direct grants.

Drug addiction is Detroit's most serious problem in fighting crime, Gibbs asserted. He said that about 6,000 drug addicts now walk the streets of Detroit, and each needs "about \$200 a day of other people's property" to support his drug habit.

"This is where the bulk of the crime stems from. We simply haven't the funds in Detroit for enough drug rehabilitation clinics," Gibbs said.

Of the list of 20 priorities the Michigan Crime Commission established for funds, control of drug abuse is not even mentioned.

"That largely involves personnel, and we haven't the money for that," said Rome.

Gibbs also recommended to the House Judiciary Subcommittee that Congress reduce the local cost share from the present 40 percent to not more than 10 percent.

"This year alone Detroit is faced with more than a \$60 million deficit in our budget just to maintain our level of spending," he said.

The Nixon administration has proposed in next year's budget that federal anti-crime funds be increased from \$278 million to \$480 million, but has yet to introduce a bill to support it.



House Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler, New York Democrat, who co-sponsored the original legislation, has introduced a bill calling for \$750 million in federal anti-crime funds.

The Michigan crime commission, meanwhile, recently received notice from the Justice Department that Michigan will get \$7.8 million this year to distribute, and the first applications are now coming in.

"We may not try to spread the funds all over the map this time," Rome said.

#### ECOLOGY AND RESPECT FOR OTHERS

### HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 8, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Winfield Forsberg of New Ulm, Minn., has very kindly brought to my attention a most perceptive editorial on the subject of ecology. It was written by Harold Hamill, editor of Farmland, a twice a month publication of Farmland Industries, Kansas City, Mo., and it appeared in the March 16 issue. I commend this thoughtful commentary to my colleagues and include it in the RECORD.

#### ECOLOGY: IT BEGINS WITH RESPECT FOR OTHERS—AND NATURE

Ecology is the thing these days.

In a matter of months, millions have learned to say the word, and in saying it, they identify with a nation hell-bent on saving itself from what it wastes and discards.

President Nixon has swung into the head of the parade, and come April the marching feet of kids on campuses will cinch up, once and for all, the fact that here is an idea whose time really has come.

It seems very simple in these early days of the crusade. This is the period of rhetoric, as the political commentators say. We're in the talk stage, and the talk may get a little shrill as the weeks pass along, because more and more we are beginning to realize that the job ahead is monumental. The planners of the college teach-in are already at odds with the President for the timidity of his approach, as they see it.

We are in the midst of a great national turn-around. Industrial leaders who would have scoffed at the suggestion a few years ago are devotedly attentive to the importance of cleaning up the wastes of their factories before turning them into rivers and lakes and the atmosphere.

Farm audiences react favorably and sympathetically to suggestions that farmers must be more careful in their uses of pesticides and herbicides and in the drainage of feedlots.

There seems to be little question about our national attitude so far as it involves those acts and practices that are a part of everyday business and everyday living. We are ready for new rules, new laws, new restrictions. Business and industry are committed—and farmers had better be—to add the price of all these things to the cost of doing business.

But are we really ready to restore and protect the kind of national environment in which 300 million persons can be healthy and content?

Industry and agriculture may be ready, but what about the little people?

We say "little" people because we think the adjective quite adequate and appropriate to those who toss paper cups and plates and whole sacks of garbage out the windows of moving automobiles;

those who throw beer bottles into fishing streams;

those who write on the walls of scenic canyons;

those who pelt roadside signs with rifle bullets;

those who cut farmers' fences so their dogs can move more freely in hunting season;

those who start fires with wood from the walls of shelter houses in our parks;

those who destroy property of any kind, public or private, just for the fun of it;

those who tear down things under cover of darkness or anonymity and then retreat to their careless personal worlds to mull over whatever their satisfactions are.

Such people are persistent and pernicious destroyers of environment.

Most of what they do is in violation of state or local laws in most places where they do it. If we cannot cope with this irresponsible minority now, just how far can we proceed in our ecological crusade if all we accomplish is the writing of a lot of new statutes at the national, state and local levels?

These people break present laws because the average American, in the main, doesn't care enough to insist that the laws we already have are enforced.

A few weeks ago, our suburban neighborhood was the scene of considerable depredation on the part of a motorist who seemed intent on destruction of mail boxes. He knocked down more than a dozen, shattering the posts and snapping off a few young trees, including one in my front yard. Total damage would add up to several hundred dollars perhaps.

Police made a routine investigation, but there was never the suggestion that anyone might be caught and prosecuted. Nobody checked car tracks; nobody made a door-to-door inquiry; nobody offered a reward. Some of us resolved to plant some heavy iron bars to catch the next car that might take a swipe at our trees or mailboxes, and the incident was forgotten.

This was an old crime, committed by someone on a spree, and it was covered by old laws. But it would have been hard to find the culprit, so nobody tried.

But when one of our neighbors violated a new law last fall by burning some leaves in his yard, the crime was obvious, the perpetrator was at hand, and the enforcement was prompt and unrelenting. This was air pollution, and it's prohibited in our city—even in so gentle a form as the burning of leaves.

The contrasts may or may not be significant. They do help underline the fact that laws are meaningless without enforcement. Enforcement, unfortunately, is a hit-or-miss thing in many areas. The general public doesn't insist on it and doesn't cooperate in situations where peace officers would benefit from the help of informers or be spurred on by citizen insistence on enforcement.

We lived once in a St. Louis neighborhood of houses and flats that were crowded together on 30-foot lots. But never have we been in a neighborhood where there was greater respect for the other fellow's property and privacy.

This respect seems to increase in civilized people as they find themselves in close quarters. Our cities would not have survived without it, and they are threatened today because in some neighborhoods there is a lack of conditioning for crowded living.

This lack of conditioning extends far beyond the cities, though. It shows up in those who vandalize public buildings, playgrounds and parks. It stands out in those well-dressed and seemingly well-educated men and women who throw paper cups out windows of automobiles.

The headlines and the political speakers tell us that the nation is aroused and ready to heed the warnings against further depredation of our environment.

But we would do well to start at the bottom and work up. A people that can't con-

trol its litterbugs and vandals stands little chance of policing vast river systems, thousands of miles of seashore and the air that blankets a continent.

#### SUCCESS OF THE OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS

### HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 8, 1970

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to submit a statement before the Senate Labor Committee's Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty recently endorsing the excellent program being conducted by the many opportunities industrialization centers throughout the country. With the thought that this may be of interest to my colleagues in the House of Representatives, I want to repeat that statement here.

In just 6 years, the community-based, self-help opportunities industrialization centers program has grown from its initial center in Philadelphia to a total of 80 centers located throughout the country. It is interesting to note why this particular program has succeeded where other programs have not.

The center is operated on a local basis, with the administrators and directors of the center residents of the area in which the center is located. They have a vested interest in seeing the center succeed because this success is reflected in their own communities.

The center depends upon cooperation between itself and the community. The center is initially organized without Federal funds and financial support from the community is essential. Donations of machinery and supplies are no less important, and these, of course, must come from the business and industrial leaders of the community.

The spirit which prevails throughout the staff of an OIC is an asset which cannot be overlooked. There is a very real sense of striving to accomplish what could be thought of as an impossible task—that of providing the kind of training which will ultimately pay off in jobs for those persons who were previously thought of as unemployables. And from this achievement then can begin to come those intrinsic values so necessary for self-betterment.

I can speak with some knowledge on the opportunities industrialization centers program because I am privileged to have such a center in my own congressional district in the city of Xenia, Ohio—the Greene County Opportunities Industrialization Center.

The Greene County OIC was founded in April 1967, and since that time has succeeded in training hundreds of persons for responsible positions within the Greene County area.

The members of the OIC staff who reside in the Xenia area have worked long hours to insure the success of the OIC. This success can be measured by the fact that the Greene County OIC enjoys the support of the entire area. Speaking for the community, the mayor of Xenia, the

Honorable James T. Henry, has called the OIC "a positive program of training of the less fortunate people of Greene County on a philosophy of self-help and full employment, as a cure for the ills of unemployment."

Persons from all stations are actively taking part in the operation of the Greene County OIC. From the chief of police to a clerk-typist, and from a leading banker to a housewife, the OIC board of directors brings all parts of the community's economic and social structure together to discuss the problems of employment facing this rapidly urbanizing area. Area businessmen and industrial leaders have responded to the call for help, both financially and morally, by donating funds and equipment to the center and by hiring trainees upon completion of their courses of study.

However, I would be greatly remiss if I did not focus attention upon the person who, more than any other, made the Greene County OIC a reality. Her goal of providing a place where any person who truly wanted to better himself or herself might come to gain necessary training for finding a job has become a reality. I am speaking of Mrs. Raymond McKnight. In his book "Build Brother Build," Dr. Leon Sullivan, founder of the OIC program, calls Maggie McKnight "Miss National OIC—who almost single-handedly pulled the black and white communities of Xenia together to create the OIC program."

Maggie McKnight died unexpectedly earlier this year, but the work that she did will stand as a lasting memorial to her. She thoroughly believed in and lived the motto of the OIC: "Help persons help themselves." To make the Greene County OIC serve its purpose, she would literally "go to jail" and urge the inmates, upon their release, to come to the center for help and job training.

Maggie, a Negro, knew no color line, but rather felt that "people needed someone to love them, listen to them, understand their problems, and then help them to find a place in society."

And this is the remarkable quality about the OIC—that an organization with relatively little governmental help has been able to provide the kind of training, both physically and spiritually, to truly aid anyone who is trying to help himself.

JUDGE MICHAEL PETITO

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 8, 1970

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, a devoted public servant and a dear friend of mine, Nassau County, N.Y., Family Court Judge Michael Petito, was the victim in a senseless murder prompted by a robbery while vacationing in Puerto Rico.

A sensitive and very talented man, his death is mourned by the vast number of people who were fortunate enough to come in contact with him.

Although he had only served as a judge on the family court in Nassau for a few

months, he left a decided mark on the lives of so many residents of the Third Congressional District which I represent. Since 1962 he had served as town supervisor in Oyster Bay, a job which entailed running an area equivalent to a large city. He did his job in the same manner in which he lived his life—with enthusiasm, with creativity, and with the consistent concern for the area's citizens.

He was a man of good faith, believing in the power of our laws.

He was a man of incredible energy, rising to a judgeship at the age of 43.

He was a man who made limitless contributions to the betterment of others' lives.

He was a good husband to his wife, Adelaide, and his four charming children.

His fight against narcotics, his battle against the proposed Oyster Bay-Rye Bridge, and his continual compassion on the bench, are but a few reasons why he will be remembered as a man among men.

Charles Dickens once wrote:

When death strikes down the innocent and young, for every fragile form from which he lets the panting spirit free, a hundred virtues rise, in shapes of mercy, charity and love, to walk the world and bless it.

Michael Petito will be sorely missed by those fortunate enough to have known him. To his devoted wife, Adelaide, and his family we extend our deepest sympathy, and hope that in their grief they may find some comfort in knowing that those who are left behind will not forget how dedicated he was in the pursuit of virtue.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S RESPONSIBLE POSITION ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

HON. CLARK MacGREGOR

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, the single word which best describes President Nixon's recent statement on school desegregation is "responsible." No one who reads this statement can miss the central point: the President will not stoop to formulas or oversimplification in dealing with this highly complex problem.

A wise man once said that "the essence of intelligence is the ability to make distinctions." By this test, President Nixon's statement displays high intelligence, indeed, for it draws critical distinctions which too many have missed.

Most importantly, it distinguishes between officially imposed, de jure segregation, and de facto segregation resulting from patterns of housing. It draws further distinctions between various Supreme Court decisions on both these topics and between the decisions of various other Federal courts. The statement also distinguishes between what is clear in the law at this time and what requires further clarification. All of these distinctions constitute significant contribu-

tions to public understanding of a most difficult issue.

The highly responsible nature of the President's approach is also evident in his determination to go beyond mere rhetoric. He stated:

Words often ring empty without deeds. In Government, words can ring even emptier without dollars.

But one can detect the ringing of no empty words in this message. For the deeds are present and so are the dollars—some \$1.5 billion of them over the next 2 years to ease the transition to desegregated and high-quality education.

When the President calls for "compassionate balance" in approaching this problem, his call is highly credible. For "compassionate balance" is precisely what characterizes the President's statement. Because it is a responsible analysis and a constructive blueprint it will produce a responsible reaction—and that is precisely what America needs most to deal effectively with this explosive problem.

# QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of other Members and readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I include the response of my constituents to a recent questionnaire:

(In percent)

	Yes	No	No opinion
1. In order to combat inflation and achieve a balanced budget, would you be willing to see cuts in your favorite Government program?.....	91.0	7.0	2.0
2. Would you vote to have the Federal Government guarantee every American family a minimum income?....	15.0	82.7	2.3
3. Would you favor studies for the creation of an all-volunteer military with an adequate ready reserve?.....	77.3	20.7	2.0
4. Would you vote for additional legislation to control pornography?.....	79.4	16.3	4.3
5. Would you favor the proposal to convert the Post Office Department into a Government-owned corporation to operate on a self-supporting basis, provided the rights of postal employees under Civil Service are protected?...	79.2	14.5	6.3
6. Do you believe that the Federal antipoverty program has been worth the cost in your area?.....	10.5	80.0	9.5
7. Would you favor sharing Federal tax revenues with State and local units of government on a no-strings-attached basis?.....	60.8	32.0	7.2
8. Is crime in America a serious enough threat that you would vote for increased spending in a "war against crime"?.....	80.3	5.2	14.5
9. Would you vote for increased Government spending for fighting pollution and for improving environmental quality?.....	88.8	7.2	4.0
10. Generally, would you approve of President Nixon's performance during the 1st year of his administration?.....	80.5	12.8	6.7



## WHY ISRAEL NEEDS HELP

## HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 8, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Christian Science Monitor in its April 3 edition carried an excellent study of the ominous network of Soviet arms deals with the Arab States.

This study, prepared by Joy Gerville-Reache, staff writer of the Christian Science Monitor, and Priscilla A. Clapp, research associate with the International Studies Division of Bolt Beranek and Newman, Inc., of Cambridge, Mass., points out that:

By far the biggest supplier of arms to the Arab countries today is the Soviet Union, which barely had a foothold in the area 15 years ago. The growing Russian influence has been mainly at the expense of the United States and Britain.

Soviet equipment appears in Arab arsenals from Morocco in the west to the two Yemeni Republics at the southern tip of the Arabian peninsula.

Five of the radical Arab states are almost entirely equipped with Soviet weapons. They are the United Arab Republic, Syria, Iraq, Algeria and (North) Yemen.

Communist China comes into the Middle East picture as a supplier of light weapons to the Palestine Guerrillas under a 1965 agreement.

Mr. Speaker, this excellent table should have the widest possible circulation. Therefore, I am calling it to the attention of my colleagues with the hope that they will study its obvious portents for the future.

Mr. Speaker, the article and tables follow:

## NETWORK OF SOVIET ARMS DEALS

(By Joy Gerville-Reache)

By far the biggest supplier of arms to the Arab countries today is the Soviet Union, which barely had a foothold in the area 15 years ago. The growing Russian influence has been mainly at the expense of the United States and Britain.

Soviet equipment appears in Arab arsenals from Morocco in the west to the two Yemeni Republics at the southern tip of the Arabian peninsula.

Five of the "radical" Arab states are almost entirely equipped with Soviet weapons. They are the United Arab Republic, Syria, Iraq, Algeria, and (North) Yemen.

But Algeria is showing signs of wanting to move away from sole dependence on the Russians and recently has put in several orders for French weapons. And Iraq is reportedly considering buying French Mirage V ground attack planes.

Two other Arab "radicals"—Sudan and the South Yemen People's Republic—are becoming increasingly dependent on the Russians, although they still retain a number of British weapons.

But Libya, the newest of the "radicals," where a group of young officers overthrew the monarchy last Sept. 1, has so far made no move toward buying Soviet military hardware.

Instead it has concluded a deal for the purchase of 110 Mirage jet planes from France. The contract is for Mirage III interceptors, Mirage V's, and for trainer/reconnaissance aircraft. Deliveries will start in 1971 and will be spread over four years.

Israel has strongly protested the French-Libyan deal on the grounds that Libya does

not need the Mirages and that they will probably find their way to the United Arab Republic.

But the French argument is that it is better for a Western power to supply Libya than for the Soviet Union to gain yet another foothold in North Africa.

Three "conservative" Arab monarchies—Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait—still depend on the United States, Britain, and France for their military equipment, although Jordan's King Hussein has found it hard to resist Soviet offers. Another monarchy, Morocco, has bought a number of Soviet tanks and aircraft. But few of them are operational owing to shortage of spare parts and lack of trained personnel to handle them.

Tunisia and Lebanon, the Arab moderates, rely mainly on French arms.

Communist China comes into the Middle East picture as a supplier of light weapons to the Palestine guerrillas under a 1965 agreement. The Soviet Union has so far refrained from sending weapons to the guerrillas directly. But some Soviet arms reach the Palestinians from Egypt and other sources.

## WEAPONS IN ARAB ARSENALS

## Morocco

Armed forces: 54,000.

Aircraft: 14 MIG-17 jet fighters (Soviet—not believed to be operational), 12-15 F-5 supersonic fighters (U.S.), 2 11-28 light bombers (Soviet), 24 Fouga Magister armed jet trainers (French), 12 T-6 trainers (ex-French), 6 MS. 733 light transports (French), 1 Heron transport (British), 4 C-47 transports (U.S.), 2 C-119G transports (U.S.), 2 Bonanza transports (U.S.), 6 Broussard transports (French), MS 500 aircraft (French), 4 Bell 47 helicopters (U.S.), 8 Alouette II helicopters (French), a few UH-12E helicopters and HH-43B helicopters (U.S.), 24 Augusta-Bell 204B helicopters (made in Italy under U.S. license).

Armor: 30-40 AMX-13 light tanks (French), 70 T-34 and T-54 medium tanks (Soviet and Czech. Probably few are operational for lack of spare parts), EBR-75 and Panhard armored cars (French).

Artillery: 40 90-mm. Scorpion self-propelled antiaircraft guns (U.S.), mortars and antitank weapons, recoilless guns (Soviet), 75-mm. and 105-mm. howitzers (probably French), SU-100 self-propelled guns (Soviet).

Small arms: NATO-type 7.62-mm. rifles and machine guns produced in Morocco.

Navy: 1 frigate (ex-British), 1 corvette (ex-French), 1 seaward patrol craft (ex-French), 1 patrol vessel (built in France with another on order), 1 utility landing craft (built in France).

## Algeria

Armed forces: 57,000 with current draft calling for 20,000 more personnel.

Aircraft: 130 MIG fighters (Soviet)—30 MIG-15's, 50 MIG-17's, and 50 MIG-21's (These figures are low estimates based in part on the poor maintenance record of the Algerian Air Force.)

28-30 11-28 light bombers (Soviet), 28 Fouga Magister armed jet trainers (on order from France), 30-40 Yak-11 trainers (Soviet), 10 An-12 and 10 11-14 transports (Soviet), 30-40 Mi-4 helicopters (Soviet), 5 SA-330 Puma helicopters (French).

Missiles: 50 SA-2 Guideline surface-to-air missiles (some believed to have been bought in from the U.A.R.)

Armor: 300-350 T-34 and T-54/55 medium tanks (Soviet), 150 BTR-152 armored personnel carriers (Soviet), AML armored cars (probably in service with French-supplied gendarmes).

Artillery: all Soviet—82-mm. mortars, and possibly heavy mortars, small rocket launchers, 30-50 107-mm. recoilless rifles, 57-mm. and 35-mm. antitank guns, 57-mm. to

100-mm. antiaircraft guns with radar, 76-mm. field guns, 122-mm. corps guns, 122-mm. and 152-mm. howitzers, SU-100 self-propelled guns, 5-10 SU-152 self-propelled guns, 140-mm. and 240-mm. multiple rocket launchers for four artillery groups.

Small arms: all Soviet.

Navy: all Soviet—6 submarine chasers, 2 coastal minesweepers, 8-10 P-6 motor torpedo boats, 6 Komar missile patrol boats, 4 Osa missile patrol boats.

## Tunisia

Armed forces: 17,000.

Aircraft: 15 Saab 91D Safir trainers (Swedish), 12 T-6 trainers (ex-French), 8 MB 326 jet trainers (Italian), 2 Alouette II helicopters (French), 3 Flamant transports (French).

Armor: 15-20 M-41 Bulldog tanks (U.S.), 15-20 AMX-13 light tanks (French), Panhard armored cars (French).

Artillery and small arms: U.S. and British.

Navy: 1 corvette and 1 patrol craft (both ex-French).

## Libya

Armed forces: 8,000.

Aircraft: 10 F-5 supersonic fighters (U.S. another 8 on order), 2-5 T-33A armed jet trainers (U.S.), 5 C-47 transports and 1 C-140 Jet Star transport (U.S.), 2 helicopters (U.S.), 6 C-130 Hercules transports on order (U.S.), 110 Mirage jets on order from France.

Armor: 8 or possibly a few more Centurion tanks (British), Saracen, Saladin, and Ferret armored cars for one armored regiment (all British). An order for 188 British Chieftain tanks is awaiting confirmation. If it is withdrawn French AMX-30 tanks will probably be bought.

Artillery: Some French guns, Bazookas, 60-mm. and 81-mm. mortars (U.S.), 105-mm. howitzers.

Small arms: British and U.S.

Navy: 3 fast missile patrol boats on order from Britain, at least one delivered, 1 corvette (built in Britain), 2 inshore minesweepers (ex-British), 2 customs patrol vessels (built in Britain), 3 fast patrol launches on customs duty.

## Sudan

Armed forces: 18,000.

Aircraft: 10-20 MIG-21 interceptors delivered or on order (Soviet), 4 BAC Jet Provost T.51 trainers (British), 6-8 BAC 145 Jet Provost T.52 trainers (British), 7 Hunting Provost T.52 trainers (British), 2 Gomhouria trainers (U.A.R.), 3 Pembroke transports (British), 2 C-47 transports (U.S.), L-29 Delphin jet trainers (Czech), Sudan is believed to have sent two of its Jet Provosts to Nigeria. The air force has been trained by Britain, Ethiopia, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. Armor: 20 T-34 medium tanks (Soviet), 10 or more T-54 medium tanks (Soviet), 30 Sherman tanks (U.S.), 14 Saladin armored cars (British).

Artillery and small arms: British, Soviet and German.

Navy: 4 patrol boats (built in Yugoslavia).

## Jordan

Armed forces: 55,444. Iraq has 12,000 troops in Jordan, Syria about 5,000, and Saudi Arabia 1,500 communications troops. There also is a contingent of about 300 Pakistani troops.

Aircraft: 17 Hunter jet fighters (from Britain and Pakistan. It is hoped to get another squadron.)

18 F-104A supersonic fighters (U.S., another squadron of 18 is on order), 5-10 F-86F Sabrejets (from Pakistan). A few Vampire jet fighters in reserve (British, may not be operational), 5 Hunter and F-104B jet trainers, 4 C-47 transports (U.S.), 2 Heron and 2 Dove transports (British), 4 Alouette III helicopters (French), 4 Westland Whirlwind helicopters (British).

Missiles: Hawk surface-to-air missiles (U.S.) Tigercat surface-to-air missiles, part

of a British air defense system, apparently installed although it is not known if it is operational.

Armor: 250 M-47/48 Patton tanks (U.S.), 100 Centurion tanks, marks 9 and 10 (British). Some older Centurions (marks 3 to 7) have been sent by Egypt and Iraq. With old Jordanian Centurions, there may be about 50-75 altogether. 200 M-113 and Saracen armored personnel carriers (U.S. and British) M-114 armoured reconnaissance vehicles (U.S.), 150 Saladin and Ferret armored cars (British).

Artillery: Antitank and antiaircraft weapons (U.S.), 106-mm. jeep-mounted recoilless rifles (U.S.), 50 105-mm. and 155-mm. howitzers (U.S.), 155-mm. Long Tom guns (U.S.) several batteries of 25-pounder artillery (British), rocket launchers (U.S.), self-propelled antitank guns, Centurion 20-pounds mounted on Cromwell hulls (self-propelled guns).

Small arms: British and U.S.

Navy: A few patrol craft.

#### Lebanon

Armed forces: 15,000.

Aircraft: 12 Mirage III with Matra missiles (French), 12 Hunter jet fighters (British), 4 Super Magister armed trainers (French), 10 Chipmunk trainers (British), 3-7 Alouette II/III helicopters (French), and a few Vampires (British).

Missiles: Crotale (French surface-to-air missile) believed to be on order with deliveries to begin in 1971.

Armor: 18 M-41 light tanks (U.S.), 42 AMX-13 light tanks (French), 40 Centurions (British), and a number of old Charioteer tanks (from Jordan).

Artillery: Probably mostly French.

Small arms: French or U.S.

Navy: 1 coastal escort (French), 3 coastal patrol launches (U.S.), and 1 landing craft (U.S.).

#### Syria

Armed forces: 70,500. Some 6,000 Iraqi troops are stationed in Syria. All weapons are Soviet unless otherwise marked.

Aircraft: 20 Su-7 fighter bombers, 70 MIG-15, MIG-17, and MIG-19 fighters, 55-60 MIG-21 interceptors, 5-10 MIG-15 UTI trainers, Yak-11 and Yak-18 trainers, Chipmunk trainers (British), 6-8 II-14 transports, 6 C-47 transports and a few Beech-185 transports (U.S.), 15 Mi-1 and Mi-4 helicopters, and a few Mi-8 helicopters.

Missiles: 8-10 batteries of SA-2 Guideline surface-to-air missiles (about 100 launchers).

Armor: 150 T-34 medium tanks, 300 T-54/55 medium tanks, and 500 BTR-152 armored personnel carriers.

Artillery: 37-mm., 57-mm., 85-mm., and 100-mm. antiaircraft guns with radar, 57-mm. and 85-mm. antitank guns, 152-mm. towed artillery, 40 SU-100 self-propelled guns, 20 SU-152 self-propelled guns, 82-mm., 120-mm., and 160-mm. mortars, multiple rocket launchers, and antitank guided missiles.

Small arms: all Soviet.

Navy: 2 T43 minesweepers (ex-Soviet), 3 coastal patrol vessels (ex-French submarine chasers), 6-10 Komar missile patrol boats (ex-Soviet), 15-21 motor torpedo boats (ex-Soviet), several small craft (built in France), 1 destroyer and 2 M-class submarines reportedly on order from the Soviet Union.

#### Iraq

Armed forces: 78,000. All weapons Soviet unless otherwise marked.

Aircraft: 20 SU-7 fighter bombers, 50 MIG-21 interceptors, 45 MIG-17 and MIG-19 fighters, 8 TU-16 medium bombers, 10 II-28 light bombers, 54 Hunter jet fighters (British), 20 Jet Provost trainers (British), 8-10 An-12 transports, about 10 II-14 transports, 4 Dover and Heron transports (British), Yak, MIG-15 UTI and II-28U trainers, 11 Wessex helicopters (British), 9 Mi-4 helicopters.

Armor: 300 T-54/55 medium tanks, 180 T-34 medium tanks, 55 Centurion medium tanks (British), 40 M-24 light tanks (U.S.), 75 AML-60 and AML-90 armored cars (French). (The option for another 75 may have been taken). Armored half-tracks (French), Ferret armored cars (British).

Artillery: 20-mm. cannon (French), Recoilless rifles (French), 57-mm. and 85-mm. antitank guns, 37-mm., 57-mm. 85-mm., and 100-mm. antiaircraft guns, some with radar.

Field guns: 122-mm. and 152-mm. howitzers, 155-mm. medium-range guns (French), 82-mm., 120-mm., and 160-mm. mortars, SU-100 and SU-152 self-propelled artillery, multiple rocket launchers, antitank guided missiles.

Small arms: Mainly Soviets, although Britain has supplied the Vickers heavy machinegun; France has shipped ammunition for certain infantry weapons.

Navy: 3 SOI-type patrol boats, 12 P-6 motor torpedo boats, not all operational, 6 small patrol boats, 4 old patrol boats (built in Iraq in 1937), Soviet missile patrol boats are expected.

#### Saudi Arabia

Armed forces: 34,000.

Aircraft: 40 Lightning fighters (British, not all currently operational), 6 Hunter F.6 fighters (British), 11 F-86F fighters (U.S.), 25 Jet Provost armed trainers (British), 6 T-33A jet trainers (U.S.), a few few T-41A and T-6 trainers (U.S.), 10-12 Chipmunk trainers (British), 9 C-130E, 2 C-118, 10 C-47 and a few C-123B transports (U.S.), 25 AB 205/206 helicopters (Italian) 6 Alouette III helicopters (French), 2 C-140 Jet Star transports on order (U.S.), Saudi Arabia employs some mercenary pilots.

Missiles: 6 batteries of Hawk surface-to-air missiles (U.S.). At least 37 Thunderbird surface-to-air missiles (British).

Armor: AMX-13 light tanks (French), M-24 and M-41 light tanks (U.S.), M-47 medium tanks (U.S.), 100 Chieftain tanks on order from Britain, AML-90 Pannard armored cars (French. Estimates vary. Some say only 60. Others 200-220).

Artillery: light mortars, 25-pounder artillery (British), Vigilant antitank missiles (British), antiaircraft artillery.

Small arms: Probably U.S. and/or British.

Navy: one coastal escort vessel (ex-U.S. Coast Guard), 15 fast naval patrol boats on order from Britain.

#### Yemen (North)

Armed forces: 10,000-12,000. All weapons Soviet.

Aircraft: 20-25 MIG-17 fighters, 16 MIG-21 interceptors (with Soviet pilots), 8-12 II-28 light bombers (with Soviet pilots), a few II-10 piston aircraft, II-14 transports, 20-30 Yak-11 trainers, Mi-1 and Mi-4 helicopters.

Armor: 30 T-34 medium tanks possibly T-54 medium tanks and PT-76 light tanks, 50 BTR armored personnel carriers.

Artillery: 57-mm. and 85-mm. antitank guns, 82-mm. and 107-mm. recoilless rifles, 82-mm. and 120-mm. mortars, 85-mm. field guns, 122-mm. howitzers, 130-mm. long-range cannon, multiple rocket launchers, many of these weapons may not be operational now.

Small arms: All Soviet. Many of them may have reached Yemen by way of the U.A.R.

#### Southern Yemen

Armed forces: 12,000.

Aircraft: 12 MIG-17 fighters (flown by Soviet pilots), 4 BAC 167 Strikemaster jet trainers (British, manned by Italian pilots under contract), 4 Jet Provost T.52 jet trainers (British), 10 MIG-21 interceptors (flown and maintained by Russians), 4 C-47 transports (ex-British), 6 DHC Beaver transport (ex-British), 6 Westland Sioux helicopter (British).

Armor: 40 T-34 or T-54 medium tanks (Soviet), 25 BTR armored personnel carriers (Soviet), Ferret armored cars (British).

Artillery: 57-mm. or 100-mm. antiaircraft guns with radar (Soviet), antitank guns, small caliber (Soviet), antiaircraft guns, probably 37-mm. (Soviet), portable mortars and rocket launchers (Soviet), heavy field artillery (Soviet).

Small arms: Soviet and British.

Navy: 3 inshore minesweepers (ex-British).

#### Kuwait

Armed forces: 5,000, some stationed in Egypt.

Aircraft: 4 Hunter FGA .57 (British), 12 Lightning F53 interceptor ground attack planes, not all operational (British), 6 Jet Provost armed jet trainers (British), 6 BAC 167 Strikemaster armed jet trainers (British), 2 DHC-4 Caribou transports (British), 2 Westland Whirlwind helicopters (British), 6 Agusta-Bell helicopters (Italian, more may be on order), 2 Hunter T.67 trainers (British), 2 Lightning T.55 trainers (British), 2 HS Devon light transports (British), 1 Argosy freighter (British), the Kuwaiti Air Force is trained by the Royal Air Force. RAF personnel may fly some of the newer Kuwaiti aircraft.

Missiles: Crotale surface-to-air missiles believed to be on order (French).

Armor: 12 Centurion medium tanks (British), 70 Vickers MBT tanks on order, due for delivery in 1971 (British), 25-50 Ferret armored cars (British), Saracen armored cars (British), Panhard AML armored cars (French).

Artillery: Light and heavy mortars. Several batteries of 25 pounder artillery (British), 350 Vigilant antitank missiles ordered from Britain, some delivered.

Small arms: all British.

Navy: 4 patrol boats ordered from Britain, two delivered.

#### Palestine Guerrillas

7.62-mm. AK-47 assault rifle, 12.7 mm. Goryunov SPG heavy machine gun and 7.62 mm. RPK machine gun (Soviet, received from Egypt), Chinese Communist copies of the Soviet 7.62 mm. AK-47 rifle and of the German Schmeisser automatic rifle Mortars (origin not certain), 130-mm. rocket launchers (Soviet origin), 240-mm. rocket launchers (Soviet design, supplied by Czechoslovakian). This is a representative list of Palestinian weapons. It should not be considered as complete.

#### CLERGYMAN OF THE YEAR

#### HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring to the attention of the Members of the U.S. Congress the honor to be presented to Archbishop Iakovos—Demetrios A. Coucouzis—Greek Orthodox Primate of North and South America. The spiritual leader of over 2 million Greek Orthodox has been named "Clergyman of the Year" by the Religious Heritage of America and will be honored at the organization's 20th annual awards banquet on June 18, for this leadership in community and ecumenical activities at home and abroad and for his contributions to American religious life.

Archbishop Iakovos, a former president of the World Council of Churches and currently chairman of the Standing Con-



ference of Orthodox Bishops in the Americas, was recently named by President Nixon to the National Center for Voluntary Action Committee, whose purpose is to foster educational and environmental projects among the underprivileged.

Mr. Speaker, I am very well acquainted with the work Archbishop Iakovos has done over his lifetime and how he has succeeded in bringing people together to enjoy better understanding. The results of the archbishop's ecumenical work have been very fruitful—we see it all around us.

In the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Archbishop Iakovos is highly respected and beloved by everyone. He is the spiritual leader for hundreds of residents of my 11th Congressional District.

The following news article from the New York Times, which I submit for the Record without objection, highlights the ecumenical endeavors and personality of this well known theologian:

#### THEOLOGIAN FOR CHANGE: IAKOVOS

Few people are happier at the thought that the Boston Red Sox may end up in the World Series this year than Archbishop Iakovos, the tall, gray-bearded Greek Orthodox Primate of North and South America.

His loyalty to the men of Fenway Park began when he was dean of the Cathedral of the Annunciation in Boston from 1942 to 1954, and it is the only passion that rivals his commitment to ecumenism and the cause of world Orthodoxy. Archbishop Iakovos' recent assertion that Greek theological ideas may eventually have to be superseded by a "new Christianity" is typical of how far-ranging and detached his mind can be.

His staff has orders to have reports on his desk every morning at 9 o'clock sharp on subjects ranging from archdiocesan personnel problems to the latest developments in Greek politics.

"He feels he has to start every day with up-to-date knowledge of everything that affects his responsibilities," an aide said yesterday.

His primary responsibility is the spiritual welfare of the 1.7 million members of his own archdiocese, and his goal is to make Greek Orthodoxy a vital force in their lives and in the life of the nation. Last August he led members of his Archdiocesan Council to Athens to make them more aware of their Greek cultural heritage.

#### VISITED POPE JOHN

He is a loyal supporter of the Ecumenical Patriarch in Istanbul, Athenagoras I, who is his ecclesiastical superior and who once occupied Archbishop Iakovos' present post. While in Greece he took time out to lead 20 of his flock on a dusty and bumpy trip to the Patriarch's birthplace, the village of Vassilikon, high in the hills of northern Greece.

As a president of the World Council of Churches, he is at the forefront of developing relations between Protestants and Orthodox, and in 1959 he became the first Greek Bishop to visit a Roman Catholic Pope (John XXIII) in 350 years.

Archbishop Iakovos was born Demetrios A. Coucouzis on July 29, 1911, on the Turkish island of Imbros. As a boy he worked in his father's general store, selling everything from sugar to icons.

He was graduated with high honors in 1934 from the Halki Theological School of the Istanbul Patriarchate and, after completing his required Turkish military service, came to the United States to study. He was ordained a priest in Boston in 1940 and is probably the only Orthodox Archbishop with a master's degree from Harvard.

#### RISES AT 6 A.M.

He served in Hartford, New York, St. Louis and Boston, and in December, 1954, he was consecrated a Bishop in the Archdiocese of Central and Western Europe. He got his first taste of ecumenical affairs as representative of the Patriarchate to the World Council in Geneva, and in 1959 he took on his present post.

The Archbishop, who is now an American citizen, rises for prayers at 6 A.M. and is at his desk at 7:30. He has a small, tidy apartment in the Archdiocesan headquarters at 10 East 79th Street, but he is now trying to spend at least several nights a week in the home purchased by the archdiocese last spring on the grounds of the Westchester Country Club in Rye.

He is a gracious host who likes to ply guests with large quantities of the rich Greek foods that he himself cannot eat because of stomach problems. His sense of humor is described as "cutting" and includes a love of puns.

Archbishop Iakovos is a good swimmer and will lead visitors on hour-long hikes around the golf course to discuss church business "out where God can join us." His staff says that once a year he overdoes it playing softball at a picnic at St. Basil's Academy in Garrison, N.Y., and "is stiff for a week."

He likes poetry, growing roses and comic strips. And, of course, the Red Sox.

"If we win the pennant, I'm going to the World Series," he told an aide last week. "If anyone asks why I'm gone, just say I've waited too long for this to happen not to."

#### A BILL TO PROVIDE COMPENSATION FOR SUBSTITUTE EMPLOYEES IN THE POSTAL FIELD SERVICE

#### HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation today designed to put an end to an unfair situation that has arisen over the years in the treatment of career substitute personnel in the employ of the postal service. At present, the law does not provide compensation for career substitutes when the President orders a special annual holiday. In most instances, career postal workers are paid for these special holidays if they choose not to work. If they choose to work, they are then paid double for special presidential holidays.

This is not the case with those employees who are under the career substitute program. Career substitute employees are allotted a certain number of annual holidays and not only do not benefit from the creation of special annual holidays but suffer as a result of the loss of potential working hours.

I believe that career substitute employees deserve compensation for annual holidays established by Presidential directive. This bill will give the Post Office Department authority to so compensate them. I trust and hope that our colleagues will see the worth and merit of this legislation and lend support to it.

Mr. Speaker, without objection I include this legislation in the Record as part of my remarks:

A bill to amend title 39, United States

Code, to provide compensation for substitute employees in the postal field service for holidays and extra compensation for such employees for time worked on holidays, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 3573 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(1) With respect to each day referred to as a holiday in section 6103(a) of title 5, and each day designated by Executive order as a holiday for Federal employees, each substitute employee shall receive compensation, under regulations prescribed by the Postmaster General, as follows:

"(1) for each such day on which no officially ordered or approved work is performed, each substitute employee shall be paid compensation in an amount equal to the hourly rate of basic compensation for his level and step, multiplied by eight;

"(2) for officially ordered or approved work on each such day (other than Christmas Day), each substitute employee shall be paid extra compensation at the rate of 100 per centum of the hourly rate of basic compensation for his level and step; and

"(3) for officially ordered or approved work on Christmas Day, each substitute employee shall be paid extra compensation at the rate of 150 per centum of the hourly rate of basic compensation for his level and step."

Sec. 2. Section 3573(c) of title 39, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking out "the Act of December 26, 1941 (55 Stat. 862; 5 U.S.C. 87b)" and inserting in lieu thereof "section 6103(a) of title 5";

(2) by striking out "(A)" in subparagraph (3) thereof; and

(3) by striking out in subparagraph (3) thereof, and (B) each substitute employee shall be paid extra compensation at the rate of 50 per centum of the hourly rate of basic compensation for his level and step."

#### NO KNOCK PROVISION TO DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CRIME BILL

#### HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, the controversial no-knock provision contained in the recently passed District of Columbia crime bill also appears in Senate approved drug abuse control bill which will be considered by the House shortly. My able colleague from Illinois (Mr. MIKVA) has strongly opposed the provision before the Committee on the Judiciary of which he is a member. His efforts received editorial approval in the current issue of Ebony magazine, which I believe deserves the consideration of Members of Congress, and I include it as part of my remarks:

#### OF PLUMBING AND PRIVACY

The U.S. Department of Justice has just cited modern plumbing as an accessory to federal lawbreakers. Federal agents, especially those involved in ferreting out narcotics peddlers, claim they are handicapped in their work because they must knock and sound off with something the equivalent of "Open up in the name of the law!" before bursting in on suspects. They claim that this gives enough warning for culprits to rush

to the bathroom and flush all evidence, sometimes heroin valued at hundreds of thousands of dollars, down the drain. The Justice Department believes that federal agents should be given permission to enter without knocking and the Senate of the United States seems to agree with the Justice Department. The Senate has approved a provision in the omnibus Drug Abuse Control Bill which will give agents this right once they have obtained a proper warrant from a magistrate or judge. At this writing, the bill is under consideration in the House of Representatives which may put its stamp of approval on the Senate's "no-knock" provision or come up with one which is equally bad.

#### INVASION OF PRIVACY

The writers of the U.S. Constitution and the amendments comprising the Bill of Rights wanted to grant each individual in these United States as much freedom as possible within the framework of a responsible government. The framers of the Constitution wanted to guarantee citizens the right of privacy within their own homes and protection against unlawful search and seizure. Opponents to the "no-knock" proposal within both the House and Senate voiced grave doubts about the constitutionality of the proposal and argued that its acceptance was a move closer to a police state. Sen. Sam Ervin Jr. (D., N.C.), an outstanding authority on constitutional law, warned that the enactment of the no-knock provision into law would be "a giant step in the conversion of our free society into a police state." Rep. Abner J. Mikva (D., Ill.) believes that not only will such a law take away a large chunk of a citizen's right of privacy but that it is an unnecessary law which not only would not improve law enforcement but might even lead to the commission of more serious crimes.

#### MORE "SHOOT-OUTS" WITH POLICE?

We must agree with Rep. Mikva who told a House subcommittee: "The reaction of the average citizen to an unexpected attempt to break into his home is to fight like hell. There are now some 90 million firearms in 60 million households throughout this country. In this situation, a no-knock provision is an invitation to a shoot-out with police. It will result in more dead police, more dead citizens and more firearms violence in America."

If Rep. Mikva's "average citizen" would respond in this way to a no-knock raid, just imagine the reaction of the ghetto slum dweller who oftentimes lives in fear of lawbreakers who work almost unrestrained by police within some ghetto neighborhoods. A man's home, regardless of how humble, is still his castle, his "turf" which he must defend against all odds if he is to maintain any semblance of manhood.

#### STRONGER DOORS, MORE TIME

The higher up you go among the dope-pushing hierarchy, the whiter becomes its complexion and more fancy become the addresses. This means that the no-knock law will not be used with any semblance of equality. Before an agent can enter the home of a suspected dope trafficker, the proposed law says that he must obtain a special warrant from a judge. All blacks know and most whites should know that the agent would have little trouble getting such a warrant for a raid in New York's Harlem, Chicago's West Side or Cleveland's Hough area. But a judge will make the agent check and triple check before granting a warrant for a raid on Chicago's North Shore, New York's Central Park East or Cleveland's Shaker Heights. Both the agent and the judge would fear the consequences of a fruitless raid in a socially prominent, white area but would feel no remorse if a raid in a black slum failed to result in arrests.

The very nature of a no-knock raid also would discriminate against the poor. White dope king pins live behind doormen, private elevators, steel doors and perhaps armed guards. The raiders pictured on the opposite page will penetrate this Philadelphia dwelling in a matter of minutes but it could take ten times that time to penetrate the high-rise luxury apartment of an important dope trade boss.

#### IT TAKES ONLY 30 SECONDS

Since it takes only about 30 seconds to flush a packet of heroin down the drain, it is difficult to figure how no-knock raiders can expect to break their way into a house or apartment before any guilty person would have a chance to flush away evidence. The first blow on the door would send the dope peddler to the bathroom and the innocent man for his gun to defend his home. No raider can ever know for certain that the place he is raiding contains incriminating evidence. And even the police are prone to err—they sometimes raid the wrong address. In addition to allowing narcotics agents to break into a home without warning, the no-knock proposal would make it legal for the agent to enter by stealth or deception. Sen. Ervin warned that no-knock permission would "make it possible for law enforcement officers to break into a home like burglars." Since the agents can enter without warning, they might often be searching a house or apartment when the occupant returned. Should the occupant mistake the agents for sneak thieves and attack them, he could easily be killed by agents. The courts would likely rule it justifiable homicide.

#### DOES NOT WORK ELSEWHERE

Another excellent argument against the legalizing of no-knock drug raids is the fact that in the 28 states which now permit them, the traffic in dope is no different than in states which do not allow such raids. In fact, New York does permit no-knock raids and the state's dope problem is the biggest in this country. Children as young as nine years have become addicted to heroin in New York and children as young as 12 have died from addiction. New York's biggest drug problem today is among the youth of the metropolis and it will only be solved when the supply has been cut off at the top. A no-knock federal law will do little if anything toward solving New York's drug problems.

#### TO SUM IT UP

To sum it up, no-knock drug raids are unnecessary, dangerous to both raiders and those being raided, ineffective and discriminatory. There is little doubt that once taken to the Supreme Court, they will be found unconstitutional. There is little likelihood that no-knock raids will be of any use in capturing drug king-pins and there is a great likelihood that they will be used to harass poor whites and blacks who will have little redress even when raided falsely. No-knock drug raids should not be permitted. If by any chance they should be passed into law by Congress, an immediate effort should be made to see that their constitutionality is tested.

#### MEADOWBROOK BLUEBIRDS GIVE US ALL A LESSON IN GOOD CITIZENSHIP

#### HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, not long ago, I received an invitation from my district in Houston, Tex., to attend a "Flag Cere-

mony" given by the Meadowbrook Bluebirds at the Meadowbrook Civic Building.

While I was unable to attend the ceremony, I was impressed by an accompanying note from Mrs. Jackie Eades, 8061 Juliabara.

The Bluebirds—24 girls age 8 to 9—is the youngest of the Camp Fire Girls. On their own, they decided since the Civic Auditorium where they meet did not have a flag, they would find a way to get one. They decorated baby food jars with red, white, and blue paper. Then they began to fill them with money by cleaning yards of the neighborhood. The results were spectacular. They earned enough not for just one flag—but for three—A Texas and American flag for indoors, and an American flag for outdoors. They succeeded in getting a flagpole from the City Parks and Recreation Department—and with fitting ceremony—Old Glory was hoisted over the Civic Building.

As Mrs. Eades stated:

At a time when we read so much about disrespect of our flag and country by some young people, I felt you would like to know about the little Bluebirds in Texas who took the time to show the world how very much their flag and country mean to them.

I am proud of the achievements of these young ladies, Mr. Speaker, for here, indeed, are the leaders of tomorrow for our Nation. The achievement of the Bluebirds so impressed me that I asked Mrs. Eades for additional information and background. She advised me:

This group of girls, ages 8 and 9, was organized in April 1968 with 24 girls and has maintained an active membership of 17 for the past 2 years. Bluebirds are the youngest of the Camp Fire Girls and their program is based on a Bluebird wish—

To have fun.

To learn to make beautiful things.

To remember to finish what I begin.

To want to keep my temper most of the time.

To go to interesting places.

To know about trees, and flowers and birds.

To make friends.

We try to plan all of the meetings and events around this theme.

They participate in the National Candy Drive and this is the only activity in which they may earn an award. I was very proud of this group this year as they won first place over all the Bluebird groups in the city of Houston in selling the most candy. This is quite an accomplishment in a city of this size. Another National event is the annual Daddy-Daughter Box supper. The girls make the invitations, name tags, place mats, table decorations and prepare some sort of act to perform for the program. This is strictly girl and father, or a substitute father. No leader or mother is allowed. As we say it is their special date with daddy. They also prepare the box supper. Some Dads find very interesting meals for this event as imaginations often get carried away.

This group made valentines for service men in Vietnam this past year. I know that this provided some fellows with lots of laughs and certainly helped to let them know how much they were appreciated.

We have had other interesting activities, such as beauty courses, hikes, nature studies and camp outs.

The overall program of Camp Fire is one I would highly recommend for any girl. One of the points that I feel has not only helped my girls but all girls is learning to love one another, helping others and most of all being "girls".



I did want you to know that the purchase of the flags was all the girls' idea. During the time we were discussing the flag and our country I was very impressed with the thoughts and feelings of these young girls. It is hard sometimes to realize that children this age have so very much to say and most of it very mature. As I told them, I hope they will always have this pride in their country and always be willing to stand up and be counted for America. One little girl at this point expressed the feeling that it didn't really matter how she felt as she was just a little girl and I assured her that even little girls were important. This was brought back to me when the girls began to make up their list of guests for the Flag Ceremony when they decided to invite everyone from the President on down, and they did.

Mr. Speaker, to these young ladies, I extend my sincere congratulations and best wishes for the wonderful work they have done in behalf of their community. They are learning well the lessons of good citizenship and, in fact, are setting an example which all of us could well follow.

#### TALK AS A REPLACEMENT FOR ACTION

**HON. LESTER L. WOLFF**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, on October 6, 1969, in Hamilton, Bermuda, the Attorney General, Mr. Mitchell, delivered a speech in which he said:

Effective anti-crime programs are a moral, legal and economic necessity. This Administration wants it and our citizens want it. But Congress is stalling the Administration's efforts to implement a national crime program campaign by its failure to act.

I believe these words and the general policy of the administration belie the truth. We in Congress have been attempting to fight the alarming increase in crime. And at the same time, we have found ourselves having to combat an administration which believes rhetoric, not action is the way to handle the situation.

Recently, I became involved in the situation which is a vivid example of the administration's double talk.

During the last session of this Congress I filed a bill, which had more than 100 sponsors, to strengthen and clarify the law controlling the proliferation of switchblade knives and dangerous weapons.

This legislation was prompted by the obvious weakness in State and local laws with regard to access to such dangerous weapons. It is a weakness moreover which has placed these knives among the most frequently used criminal weapons.

Our Attorney General has also been quoted as saying "we think on the crime area, really the problem is Congress. The Congress has not given us the tools, but we are going to keep their feet to the fire until we get them."

It would, therefore, seem to follow that when legislation, such as my bill, pre-

sents an opportunity to constructively fight crime, with no expense involved, that the administration would readily accept it.

However, this has not been the result, in this particular instance.

In my particular case, Deputy Attorney General Richard Kleindienst commenting on my switchblade bill, on behalf of the Justice Department gave the matter short shrift. Moreover, his reply offered, in my estimation, inadequate reasons for opposing such legislation.

The reply, in brief, stated that existing legislation in this field offers sufficient latitude to control interstate trafficking in switchblades. And if there is an existing problem, then stricter local and State laws and enforcement could handle the matter.

But, Mr. Speaker, I have firsthand evidence that our State and local agencies cannot cope with the situation. On several trips to the Times Square area, I was able to purchase switchblade and gravity knives that were being sold in violation of New York State law. After inquiries at the local police precincts to determine why such knives were available and the laws were not being enforced, I was informed that determination had to be made by higher authority as to whether or not the weapons in question fit the strict legal definition of prohibited knives.

Yet, the Justice Department was able to reply in such a manner as to contradict my findings.

Moreover, Attorney General Mitchell in an interview with U.S. News & World Report in August 1969, said:

Crime is the area of greatest concern to the American public. And what we can do in the Federal government we're going to do.

In this most vivid instance, our Justice Department did have the opportunity to do something about the crime problem. Instead, they chose to take the line of least resistance—pushing off the issue onto State and local enforcement, which already are confused and weakened by the lack of national guidance in fighting crime.

I would, therefore, urge the administration and Mr. Mitchell to take stock of where they really stand on fighting crime. Congress and our citizens will not put up with talk as a replacement for action.

#### TIGHTEN YOUR BELTS

**HON. JOHN M. ZWACH**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I have said before, and I will repeat, Mrs. Margery Burns, a farm housewife who contributes a weekly column to many of our Sixth Congressional District rural newspapers, is one of my favorite columnists.

Mrs. Burns writes of the things close to the heart of countryside America. She

writes words that all of us can profit by reading.

With your permission, I would like to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Margery Burns' column which appeared in our newspapers of March 19.

Because farm legislation will soon be before us, I recommend that all of my colleagues read this item:

#### TIGHTEN YOUR BELTS

Have you been kicking about your food budget lately? Did you see the TV program the other day which showed the farmers getting 3¢ a pound for potatoes and you paying 15¢ a pound at the store? Then you read about Vietnam, India and some South American countries trying to break up the huge land holdings owned by absentee landlords because agriculture is a losing proposition with that system. Yet, in our country, we're being forced in the opposite direction . . . fewer farmers, bigger land holdings and absentee landlords.

Do you know exactly why you'll be paying more for food if this trend keeps going on the way it is? Today there are less than half as many farmers as 20 years ago, but farm real estate debt and liabilities have doubled in only 8 years. Farmers simply can't come out with the prices they are receiving.

Congressman John Zwach sent out some figures the other day which will give you an idea of the farmers' problems. In 1949, factory wages averaged \$49 per week while in 1969 they jumped to \$120. If farm prices had gone up at the same rate, the average price on hogs would be \$46 per hundred weight instead of \$27; beef would be \$56 instead of \$26; soybeans \$6.00 per bushel instead of \$2.36; wheat \$4.00 instead of \$1.29; corn \$3.00 instead of \$1.12 and fluid milk would be \$8.00 instead of \$3.81 today. Think hard about those prices and what they're doing to agriculture today.

Another bitter pill for farmers today is the fact that all of their expenses have gone up at the same rate as wages while their prices are the same as 20 years ago. The only thing that has kept most farmers on their land is the increase in valuation of their land. But the catch there is the increase in taxes as the valuation goes up.

If your income today was the same as it was 20 years ago and your expenses as high as they are today, how would you come out financially at the end of the year?

According to The Farmer, a \$13,000 to \$15,000 income on the farm requires a gross income of \$56,000 at 25¢ per \$1 return. If a farmer makes only 10¢ out of a \$1, he needs a gross income of \$140,000 to make \$13,000. And operating expenses today take from 75 to 90¢ of each dollar. A typical beef feeding and crop operation will need a capital investment of \$397,000 to get a return to the operator's labor and management of \$14,370 with an average of 480 acres and 2 men operating the farm.

Since most farmers can't come up with the huge amounts of money necessary to run the farms today, it is logical that more corporations will be coming in to handle the bigger farms.

The angle to all of this sad farming situation which really concerns most people is the definite increase coming in the price of food. Can you imagine a big company being satisfied with a return on its investment of 2.96% which is the return farmers get today if they are lucky? Is General Motors still asking 20 year old prices on its 1970 cars? You can just bet that when there are 500,000 farmer operators and managers in the country, the price of farm products will include all operating expenses besides a good profit.

And you think your food budget is high now?

PLANS FOR PRIVATE SCHOOL UNDERWAY

**HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, for years I have predicted that Federal bureaucrats and courts would destroy the public school system in many areas of our country.

This Nation was founded on the principle of free enterprise, which is another way of saying "freedom of choice." More schools have been integrated in Alabama than I ever thought I would live to see. Integration has been accepted by the people of Alabama under a law known as "freedom of choice." This law simply permits schoolchildren and their parents to choose the school which the children would attend.

Under this law, many Negro pupils chose to attend former all white schools. Their attendance was accepted. Few, if any, white students chose to attend former all Negro schools. However, under the law, they had such a choice. The thing that the bureaucrats in Washington cannot understand, Mr. Speaker, is that a vast majority of the Negro students do not and, I repeat, do not, want to attend former white schools. They exercised their choice and remained in their own schools. I deny that any intimidation, coercion, or force kept any Negro students from attending white schools, and challenge any person to prove otherwise.

As I stated, Mr. Speaker, this country was founded on the principle of free enterprise, which is another way of saying "freedom of choice." Each of us is permitted to choose whatever religion we care to embrace. Each of us is permitted the freedom of choice to pursue any profession or business that we desire. When you are sick, you have the freedom of choosing the physician to treat you. When you are in trouble, you have the freedom to choose the lawyer to represent you. You have the freedom to choose your place to live. As a matter of fact, you have a freedom to choose anything you desire—except schoolchildren and their parents are denied freedom to choose the schools that they attend.

If this trend is followed; namely, denying freedom of choice of schools, it could well be the beginning of the end of all free enterprise in America. To corroborate the prediction I have made about the future of our public education system in America, I am inserting an editorial written by Mr. Hubert Garner, editor of the Union Springs Herald. I am thoroughly convinced that the HEW bureaucrats and many members of the Federal judiciary are far more interested, Mr. Speaker, in integration than they are education. This is indeed a sad day in America.

The editorial follows:

THE END OF AN ERA IN BULLOCK?

Soon school will be out, and this may very well be the last year of a unitary integrated public school system as we have known it in Bullock County.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

After this year, we will have a Public School system and a Private School system in Bullock County. In fact, there might be a Private School at Midway and one at Union Springs.

This change will have been brought about, not by the choice or inclination of the parents of Bullock County, but by court order. The white parents of Bullock County held no demonstrations when their schools were integrated several years ago. Black children were taken into the public schools and many of these children were given special help by their white teachers. They were accepted by their classmates, and those who so desired were taken into the Bullock County High School Band and this past year four blacks went out for football, but only one remained to play on the Tiger team. This was an honest acceptance of integration.

But the NAACP and HEW did not feel that Bullock County had done enough. Freedom of choice, they contended, was too slow. As a result, the federal court last year ordered the Bullock County Board of Education to completely integrate its faculties immediately.

This brought about a breakdown in quality education because of the incompetency of some of these black teachers who were hired quickly. In fairness, some of these teachers might have been teaching outside of their special fields. Nevertheless, it was the straw that broke the camel's back.

Judge Johnson has not yet ruled on the latest suit brought from these same sources. But it is self-evident that there is now little hope that his next ruling will bring about so much crowding and forced mixing for sociological reasons that quality education will be almost impossible.

What most Bullock County parents want, both black and white, is not segregated schools, but quality education in an atmosphere free of tension. If they cannot obtain this in the public school system, then they will try to obtain it in schools of their own, supported by their individual efforts.

So as we approach the summer and go into the next school term, we should keep in mind that the school situation which faces both races was not brought about by the desires of either race. It was brought about by politicians and their hypocrisy. So, if we are looking for someone on whom to place the blame, let us place this blame where it rightfully belongs, and let us still continue to live together in harmony and respect for the individual dignity of both races.

A CRITICAL JUNCTURE IN OUR HISTORY

**HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, on March 18 the House approved a bill to create 57 new Federal judgeships by a vote of 366 to 18. I was among the 18 Members who voted against it, and the only Member of the so-called liberal bloc to do so.

I voted against that bill for the simple reason that to date the President has shown a depressing instinct for mediocrity in his judicial appointments. I was concerned about his apparent use of judicial appointments as rewards for political associates and groups.

That was why, Mr. Speaker, I was loathe to give the President 57 new appointments to use in an exercise in political gamesmanship.

Today has seen the U.S. Senate's second disapproval of the President's Supreme Court nominees. This should not and must not be taken as an occasion for huzzahs and hurrahs by any group in our society. As Americans, we can never applaud any situation which demeans or embarrasses the President. For what happened today diminishes, not simply one man, but rather the office and the institution of the Presidency. None of us wished to see that. Surely, we fear further repetitions.

As Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, we all love our country and cherish its institutions, especially the office of the Presidency and the Supreme Court. I feel profound satisfaction that the Senate has risen above party loyalties today in their commitment to the excellence, the character, the integrity of the Supreme Court as an institution.

I fervently hope that the President's sensitive political antennae have finally received the message from the national press, civic and community leaders, and now the U.S. Senate. Every American recognizes and accepts the President's constitutional right to appoint anyone to the Supreme Court whose special regional, economic, or legal views the President feels should be represented on the Nation's highest court.

There are such men who represent the full spectrum of constitutional philosophy from ultraliberal to strict constructionist, who would be eminently qualified for a seat on the Supreme Court. These men would be confirmed by the Senate in a matter of hours, as was the President's first nominee Chief Justice Warren Burger, a nominee who possessed impeccable credentials.

What happened today in the U.S. Senate was not just a partisan exercise in denying a President his man, but rather the courageous action of 51 Senators—Democrats and Republicans—who, in refusing to confirm Judge Carswell, have in effect said to the President: "Give us a man of your choosing, but let him be a man of talent, character, and moral excellence."

All of us deeply hope, as Americans, not as partisan political creatures, that the President will heed the obvious call of America for a man of exceptional ability to sit on the Court. Let us hope that the President will rise to this challenge and fortify our confidence in the credibility of two of our most hallowed and revered institutions—the office of the Presidency and the Supreme Court.

The President can do no more, and must do no less, for our Nation at this critical juncture in our history.

NEW DIRECTORS TAKE HOLD IN PEACE CORPS

**Hon. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, the March 23 issue of the Chemical &



Engineering News contained a timely and most interesting article concerning the Peace Corps and the new approach being brought to it.

I would like to commend this article to the attention of my colleagues. The article follows:

#### NEW DIRECTIONS TAKE HOLD IN PEACE CORPS

(Host countries seek trained, experienced chemists and engineers to ease manpower shortage.)

Last week an unlikely combination of men and women landed in Ahmadabad, Gujarat, India, where, if all goes well, they will live and work for the next 27 months. Ranging in age from 24 to 57, the 11 men and two women hail from all parts of the U.S.—from Maine to Missouri, California to New York. They have degrees and work experience in chemical engineering, electrical engineering, political science, economics, mechanical engineering—to name just a few of the di-

verse interests they represent. They all have at least a bachelor's degree, but several have master's degrees, and one is a Ph. D. chemical engineer. Their assignment: to assist the Productivity Council of Ahmadabad in its small industries development program as Peace Corps volunteers.

This baker's dozen represents more than just a continuing trend in Peace Corps programs—a trend toward more highly skilled technical and professional manpower that Peace Corps has been touting since shortly after its 1961 inception (C&EN, Feb. 18, 1963, page 92). They do represent a new commitment on the part of PC to actively recruit the kinds of people requested by host countries. And host countries aren't just requesting batches of science B.A.'s and B.S.'s, who have little or no teaching experience, for teaching in secondary and elementary schools as they have done over the years. They want professionals with experience for consulting positions, inservice teaching on university levels, and curriculum designing.

#### PEACE CORPS WANTS CHEMISTS AND ENGINEERS

Category	Number needed (July–December)		Brief job description	Countries
	Minimum	Maximum		
Chemical engineers.....	7	10	Consultants with private industry; Government programs.	India, Iran, Turkey, Chile.
Chemists (B.A. and B.S.).....	130	260	Teaching at secondary school level; in-service training; science workshops.	India, Malaysia, Philippines, Eastern Caribbean, Sierra Leone.
Graduate chemists (M.S. and Ph. D.)	20	40	Teaching at university level; in-service teacher training; consultant work; curriculum development; science research methods.	Ceylon, Malaysia, Philippines, Colombia.

Good intentions.—“In the past host countries have requested Ph.D.'s and M.S.'s with professional experience and we've simply told them that we can't get those kinds of people,” explains Wally Tyner, 25-year-old head of the newly formed Math/Science/Education skill desk of PC's Office of Volunteer Placement. “Well, we never really tried. We told them ‘Here's our supply, can you lower your standards?’”

All too often, that supply was woefully inadequate in terms of achieving results. The Peace Corps has traditionally comprised liberal arts graduates who are full of good intentions, but often short on specific skills and experience.

Wally Tyner's PC experience serves to illustrate typical problems facing PC in the past. A 1966 chemistry graduate from Texas Christian University, Ft. Worth, he received his PC training along with a large number of Peace Corps Volunteers (PCV's), liberal arts graduates who were being trained to be poultry farmers on a farm in Mysore, Kerala, India. Mr. Tyner, the only chemist, was put in charge of feed nutrition for the farm. He trained for a month in Ft. Worth in a quality control lab, for a month in India in feed research, and was then shown to his laboratory—an empty room. “You can arrange it anyway you want,” he was told.

Correcting this situation became a part of his PC job, but it took him eight months to get the laboratory in working condition—a full one third of his PC stint. Although most host countries are now ready for Peace Corps Volunteers they request, they want skilled people who need little prior training.

New directions.—Last year 96% of PCV's were liberal arts graduates—what PC calls generalists. Mr. Tyner explains, “This year our goal is to have 25% skilled and professional PCV's, a big jump from our present 4% level.” Reaching that goal, he acknowledges, will depend on the success of new programs, which are part of PC's “new directions” policies. Outlined by Peace Corps director Joseph Blatchford almost a year ago,

the new directions programs have had a slow start: The Gujarat project is one of these programs.

New directions programs of concern to chemists and chemical engineers have several unusual features, says Mr. Tyner.

Emphasis on short-term volunteers. PCV's have usually served for two years, not including training periods which can range from six weeks to four months. Under new policies, PCV's may serve for as little as a year, thus enabling a chemistry professor or chemical engineer at a university to take a leave of absence or sabbatical without jeopardizing his long-term job.

Active recruitment of M.S.'s and Ph.D.'s. Recruitment has been under fire from some people within PC, who argue that active recruitment destroys the volunteer spirit and image of the corps. But PC should be responsive to the needs of the countries, Mr. Tyner maintains, and if this is the only way to fill their needs, then so be it.

A shift from the young single college graduate image. “Age counts,” states one PC poster and in this spirit, there's no upper age limit for PCV's. Married couples in which one member isn't a volunteer and married couples with dependent children under 18 are also eligible.

Special placements of volunteers. PC normally trains volunteers in the U.S. in blocks of several hundred. Now host countries may request from one to four individuals (five constitutes a “program” by PC definition) with specific training and background and special placements will try to meet this request. For example, Iran is requesting a chemical engineer who has been developing laboratory facilities at Arya Mehr University, Tehran. Special placements volunteers are usually trained in that country at its government's expense.

Utilization of PCV's in jobs other than teaching in elementary and high schools.

Nationalism.—This last point is important in terms of the overall philosophy of PC. “Countries aren't too keen anymore about

having large numbers of nonnationals teaching in their school systems,” asserts Jerry Brady, youthful assistant to the director of policy for PC. “This is understandable in view of nationalistic feelings of the countries.” Many countries in earlier years regarded PC as predominately a cultural exchange program and didn't mind large numbers of PC generalists in the school system. Now they have filled these positions with their own nationals, but they still lack sophisticated manpower to help with urgent problems relating to their economy.

The Gujarat program typifies new directions in many ways. The Indian government asked PC to provide volunteers to assist the Productivity Council of Ahmadabad in its small industries program. The Ahmadabad Productivity Council, one of the most active in India, comprises 150 industrialists, 50 labor leaders, 100 professional people, and 50 private individuals. Its chief function has been to provide training courses for labor and management. About a year ago, the council added technical and business consulting to its list of services to small industries. This service has been only moderately successful because of insufficient manpower.

Consultants.—PCV's in this project are assigned directly to the council. Although the volunteer's primary job is to act as consultant to small industries, he is expected to visit area industrialists on his own and offer them assistance. Small industries with which the volunteer will work are within a 10-mile radius of the center of Ahmadabad and include about 800 engineering, 100 chemical, 100 plastic, 50 print processing, 10 rubber, and six electrical firms.

In addition to primary consulting jobs, volunteers will participate in seminars, training classes, and lectures periodically.

The Gujarat program—by PC's own admission—is still quite unique for PC: The assignments are more challenging and unusual than the vast number of PC programs. But there are other programs that will enable PCV's to spend a year or two using their professional training. One such program is being offered by Ceylon, whose ministry of education has requested 21 volunteers for jobs ranging from curriculum design in science education to film librarianship.

The Ceylonese openings, to begin this summer, are for six weeks of U.S. training. For one-year slots Ceylon needs two people each with M.S. or Ph.D. chemistry, physics, and biology degrees—all with some teaching experience—to conduct in-service training classes, train local staff, and develop science curriculums. For two-year slots Ceylon is seeking, for example, a person having an M.S. degree in library science with a minimum of two years professional experience to teach courses in library science at one of the junior university colleges, the U.S. equivalent of junior colleges.

Ceylon's requests for PCV's are quite ambitious and a reversal of attitude because during PC's nine-year history, Ceylon was one of 10 countries that asked the Peace Corps to leave. That Ceylon has since invited it to return may indeed be indicative of a new attitude toward PC now developing.

Ambitious.—Other countries have also set ambitious requirements. Chile is requesting a chemical engineer with experience in fisheries development. Malaysia wants M.S. or Ph.D. chemists to teach curriculum development on the sixth form level (junior college). India wants four chemical engineers with work experience to assist the small industries officer in industrial towns of Maharashtra.

Professionally a PC experience like teaching or consulting can be a definite plus in terms of a person's own professional development, Mr. Tyner points out. A chemistry professor without tenure may be a bit re-

lucant to leave the U.S., Mr. Tyner admits, especially in view of the tight job market. On the other hand, one or two years out of the states could prove to be an advantage if the job market should improve. "Highly trained PCV's, like those in the Gujarat project, aren't going to save the world," Mr. Tyner adds, "They're going to work in chemistry."

While it's undoubtedly true that working in chemistry in Third World countries isn't the same as in the U.S., PC officials like Wally Tyner are hopeful that many chemists and chemical engineers will respond to the challenge of new directions.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NATIONAL COOPERATIVE SOIL SURVEY

**HON. PETER N. KYROS**

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, the environment of this Nation is much in the minds of our people today. Both young and old are deeply concerned about the many ways this Nation and its people are downgrading our natural environment.

There are indeed several general answers to these environmental problems. Some of them are to stop air pollution, surface and ground water pollution, and noise pollution. More parks, more open space in our cities and urban districts, and more wilderness areas are being proposed by various groups of people.

The people in general have finally awakened to the fact that we should not continue to build our cities and homes on the flood plains of our rivers and streams. Not only is the flood control cost extremely high but the loss of life and human suffering by those who live on flood plains is also high. From the cities and towns on flood plains, great amounts of pollutants enter the Nation's waterways.

Flood plains make up a very minor percentage of this Nation's total land area. It is relatively easy to delineate the flood plain areas and to keep improper developments from being placed on them. This is certainly a major step toward environmental improvement.

My concern is on the point of what are we doing about proper land use of the major part of our land resources in this country. As the new cities and towns and rural homes will not be built on the flood plains, they will have to be built on the higher land back away from the major rivers. Much of the higher land has severe soil limitations and is therefore poorly suited to this kind of use.

For the past 30 years or more the Soil Conservation Service has been charged by Congress with making an inventory of the Nation's soil resources. This inventory is known as the National Cooperative Soil Survey. The SCS cooperates with the land grant universities and the agricultural experiment stations of those universities in this effort. Most of the funds for this inventory are appropriated by Congress. In recent years some

of the State governments have also appropriated money to speed up this inventory. In most of the States only about half of the land area has been soil surveyed to date. In Maine about half of the State has been soil surveyed.

Many groups and State and Federal agencies are making an effort toward land use planning. Much and probably most of this planning effort is being done without the benefit of the inventory of the very resource that is being planned upon, namely the land.

It is an accepted scientific fact that land composed of some soil types is suitable for some kinds of use and is poorly suited or unsuitable for other kinds of uses. Yet every day major land use planning and development decisions are being made without much if any consideration of the basic resource on which the planning and development is taking place.

It is now recognized that when land is put to a use to which it is poorly suited, the costs of development are higher, ground or surface water pollution will likely result, and a definite downgrading of the environment is practically inevitable. The root of much of our environmental problems of today is a direct result of haphazard unplanned development on areas of soils that are not suited to the kind of development placed thereon.

There is a very serious need for speeding up the National Cooperative Soil Survey to the extent that it can be completed in the next few years. Our population is growing rapidly. With the development this population growth will require in the form of new cities, factories, homes, and schools, this country can ill afford to permit the environmental downgrading that will take place through the continued development on unsuitable soils.

Areas of soils that are unsuited for homes, buildings, and schools, are usually much better suited to wetland wildlife areas and park and similar recreation areas. This proper land use approach then will help provide the much needed open space within the new cities and urban areas, as well as helping to maintain and improve the environment for people. Our total Federal-State-local planning efforts require that this land inventory be completed soon, for the vital protection it can provide to both our environment and the sound economic development of this Nation.

#### SUPPORT FOR AMERICA'S FIGHTING MEN IN VIETNAM

**HON. PHILIP M. CRANE**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, a young man from my district, Michael R. Davis, is at present a Sp4c. with the 5th Transportation Command, U.S. Army, in Vietnam. Last fall he wrote to his father, Richard K. Davis of Rolling Meadows, Ill., a moving and in my opinion cogent commen-

tary on America's support for her fighting men in Vietnam.

One may not agree with Specialist Davis' comments on the Vietnamization program; the situation there today is somewhat different from last fall. But what this fine young American has to say about his own country and the vocal protesters of his own generation is, I believe, worthy of the attention of every American who loves his country. I have received permission from Specialist Davis to insert his letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, where I hope many of my colleagues will find his remarks as worthwhile as did I.

The letter follows:

SEPTEMBER 26, 1969.

DEAR DAD: Well some funny and interesting changes of events in the last 24 hrs.

First of all our patrol platoon was cut off of all long range convoys and we are now working exclusively with the Korean contractor (Hon Jm Transportation Inc.) as guards for their convoys. That cuts us down to places within a 100 mile radius of Qui Nhon.

Secondly, I'm taking Tykwando lessons—a mixture of Judo, Karate, and Gung Fu. It's considered one of the best hand to hand defenses.

The way I look at it, as long as I'm here I'm going to do the very best job I can, and get as much out of it as I can. I mean I'm going to have to do something with my free time so why not Tykwando rather than sitting around. And if I have any time left over I can always go over and lay bricks at the school the GI's are building for the Vietnamese kids on the far end of Qui Nhon.

Which brings me to another related subject, the Viet Nam pullout. As far as 75% of the GI's are concerned it's a big mistake. We all agree that peace would be great and that it would be nice to have all of us going home—I mean the part about going home is great and sounds great to all of us. However, I believe the general feeling is that to pull out is inconceivable at this time for the following reasons:

(1) Militarily speaking, the South Vietnamese cannot handle this war alone—regardless of what the politicians may be trying to tell the American citizens and people of the world.

(2) Militarily speaking, the Army of South Vietnam could not recover from the major assaults which would inevitably come if we pull out.

(3) Culturally speaking, all the work and money spent in helping the people of South Vietnam help themselves would be thrown away by the regression that would follow.

(4) Speaking as an American, I'm ashamed of my own people. I'm ashamed of those soft-headed fools that scream, and yell and fight against everything that has been American for two-hundred years. I'm ashamed of those bigots that say that they are being taxed to death while these people are being starved to death. I'm ashamed of those people that call themselves Americans yet won't stand up to the screaming minority of protesters and be real Americans again. I'm ashamed of those people who say it's none of our business when it's not only the business but also the responsibility of all free men to protect the rights and freedom of all men regardless of where they happen to live. For once I'd like to see America as a land of Americans again; a land where being American means more than putting out the flag on the 4th of July and going to church once a week; a land of proud people; proud of their land; proud of their past, present, and future.

I just wish that the people of America



could see for themselves what actually goes on over here. I wish they could see the broken bodies left behind by the VC terrorists in those nameless little villages. I wish they could meet the people of this land who have spent over twenty years at war and who are still willing to give what little they have left to continue. I wish they could see a poor peasant woman who cries every day—she lost three sons who were in the Army. I wish they could see the grateful look in a five-year-old's eyes when you share a can of C rations with him. I wish they could see these brave and wonderful people—proud of what they are and who they are; too beaten and poor to win this war alone, yet too proud to quit even if the Americans do pull out.

Yet try to explain that to the people of America.

Well, I've got to be going—I promised to give a half-dozen real Americans a ride over to that school so we can spend some time laying bricks; most of us are tired and would like to spend some time over a cold beer relaxing, but we're going to do what we believe in rather than what's easiest. I'm proud of them and myself—I believe I know where you can find the real Americans.

Thanks for listening while I got it out of my system.

The kid in green.

MIKE.

P.S.—If you run into any real Americans over there Stateside let me know—it would be nice to know we're not of a dying breed over here.

S/4 M. R. Davis, 338-42-8402; H. J. Convooy Patrol, H. H. C. 5th Trans. Comd., APO San Francisco, Calif. 96238.

DR. JOSEPH CHANDLER MORRIS

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, it is with a profound sense of loss and deep personal grief that I learned through the newspapers of several days ago of the death of one of Louisiana's most respected scientists, educators, and citizens, Dr. Joseph Chandler Morris.

Mrs. Boggs and I have known Dr. Morris for a great many years. He was a devoted friend. We shall miss him. He was a man aware of the problems of our times and devoted his life to seeking commonsense solutions to these problems.

A distinguished physicist who long served his alma mater, Tulane University, as a member of the teaching faculty and the administration, Dr. Morris suffered a massive coronary on Saturday last while attending a meeting of the council on library resources in New York City.

Of Dr. Morris' many and significant contributions, we of Louisiana are very proud that he served as a member of the national science board longer than any other person. Appointed as a charter member for a 4-year term by President Truman in 1950, Dr. Morris was reappointed for a 6-year term by President Eisenhower in 1954, and again in 1960—an unprecedented third term.

Throughout his 16 years of service on the national science board, Dr. Morris

played a unique and invaluable role in guiding the National Science Foundation through its most critical years of substantive development. His successive reappointments stand in tribute to the recognition and respect held for him by the academic and scientific communities and the leaders of the Federal Government.

A former member of the physics department at Princeton University, where he received his doctor of philosophy degree in 1928, Dr. Morris returned to Tulane, his alma mater, and his native New Orleans in 1940 as professor of physics. He was later named chairman of the department of physics and in 1947 was designated vice president of the university. From 1952 until his retirement in 1968, he served as vice president and secretary of the Tulane board of visitors, and at the time of his death was secretary-treasurer of the Gulf Central Steamship Co.

During World War II, Dr. Morris held positions as director of the Office of Scientific Personnel of the National Research Council and as associate director of training of the San Diego antisubmarine laboratory of the Office of Scientific Research and Development.

In this brief restatement of Dr. Morris' professional career, it is impossible to accurately reflect the degree to which he will be missed by all who had the privilege of associating with him. Dr. Morris was a truly remarkable man who generously and graciously served his State and Nation with distinction.

I join with his friends, admirers, and former colleagues in expressing my sympathy to his wife, the former Grace Elwood Oldfather, and his children, Mrs. Grace Morris Williamson and Joseph C. Morris, Jr.

#### COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION: A DECADE OF GROWTH

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to share with my colleagues in the Congress a report on the activities of the Community Development Foundation of Berea, Ky., prepared by a member of its staff:

#### COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION: A DECADE OF GROWTH IN SELF-HELP SERVICES

The state motto for Kentucky is a well-known aphorism: "United we stand, divided we fall." This true saying with its historic and patriotic associations is finding timely new applications in the hill and plateau regions of Kentucky and in thousands of other developing areas in our nation and abroad.

For the past ten years, the Community Development Foundation (CDF) a non-profit, voluntary agency working worldwide to help people improve their social and economic conditions, has been helping communities in Kentucky so they can stand up, each one united in the fight against poverty.

Today the work of the Community Development Foundation achieves a dynamic new momentum, and I believe its most significant aspect is taking place in Appalachia in

cooperation with the Office of Economic Opportunity. Last year the Foundation introduced a training program for 57 Community Action Agency workers in five regions of Kentucky preparing them to involve the poor in programs to benefit the poor. Now there are CDF training programs in 13 areas of the Bluegrass State and additional programs with OEO for community agencies in Tennessee and in Pennsylvania as well.

Charles M. Wesley of Berea, Kentucky, director of CDF activities in Appalachia for the past ten years, is the coordinator for the Training Program. "The keys to community action," says Mr. Wesley, "are effective local leadership and full democratic participation. Our program helps community action agencies to use these keys as we equip local leaders with new and better skills and encourage them to draw into the community circle those who have sat alone and apart unsure of their right to belong."

A number of years ago Charles Wesley came to the "community" of Quicksand Creek in a remote mountain area of eastern Kentucky. Fifty families lived in dilapidated houses perched along a dry creek bed that served as a road. The squalid poverty of their lives was indeed a quicksand. What hope and opportunities could there be for these gaunt shy people cut off from the economic and social mainstream of our society?

Working with a teacher from the nearby Hindman Settlement School and a little money from CDF, Wesley encouraged the mountaineers to fix up an old building for a community center where they could begin to make saleable mountain craft products. With another grant they bought six looms, and the women and girls began to wind warps and make table mats. Machinery was installed for the men who wanted to manufacture hickory chairs.

The Craft Center helped these people to develop a new outlook and to function as a community. Improvements in health and education soon followed—a nurse held a clinic for 40 people, the dogs got rabies shots, and nine children finished eighth grade and enrolled in high school.

Today through the CDF programs in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania, Wesley and his associates are training 1,000 members of Community Action Agencies and the poor themselves to become involved in a sustained program of community self-help that will help to meet and satisfy the actual needs of the community by using the full quotient of community talent and manpower.

Last year was the tenth anniversary year of the Community Development Foundation. Established in 1959 with a grant of \$35,688 from Save the Children Federation, CDF was incorporated under the laws of Connecticut and embarked on a pioneer program of demonstration projects, research and development. Last year's budget was more than a million dollars, and half of that amount was supplied by governments and agencies contracting for the technical services of the Foundation.

In its first program, CDF counselors worked in Greece, France, Korea and Lebanon, as well as in the mountains of Appalachia and on American Indian reservations. They came to the little villages, talked with the inhabitants, learned of their aspirations and offered the people incentives to accomplish some project of their own choice.

Early projects in Appalachia included painting and repairing of school buildings, clearing school property to make playgrounds, installing toilets and running water, and adding school kitchens so that undernourished youngsters could share in the surplus commodity school lunch programs.

A recent project is helping the people of Decoy, Kentucky, a small town in the poorest county of the country. This isolated community numbers 27 families descended from

Scotch-Irish settlers drawn to the foothills seven generations ago by the good hunting. CDF brought support for the project from Save the Children Federation and the Minnesota Teen Corps. Led by Lionel Duff, village teacher, and the enthusiasm of the teen corps members, the young people of Decoy dug a foundation in the hard red clay and constructed a two level community center. As they prepare for the dedication in May, the young folk of this once forgotten town are filled with new hope for a better way of life.

One of the Foundation's earliest statistical studies concerned 240 of these projects, showing that they had brought benefits to 12,228 people. CDF costs amounted to \$13,735, but the self-help contribution of our mountain people came to \$160,980—more than seven times larger than what had been given.

As a result of this study and others regarding projects on Indian reservations and overseas, CDF realized that what could be accomplished by a small staff of counselors in a few towns could be multiplied if a large staff of community workers could work with the people. Therefore, instead of concentrating intensively on projects for two or three towns, CDF counselors learned to extend their principles and methods to many towns by encouraging local leaders to adopt and follow the self-help way.

In 1963, the Foundation was invited to help the government of Mexico take the first steps in launching a massive national program of community development. A pilot project began in five zones, soon extended to sixteen and then twenty-one zones. CDF also introduced and distributed some of our U.S. surplus-food supplies as incentives to the campesinos working voluntarily on community projects. The Mexican government was soon able to supply its own surplus foods as incentives. Working with CDF counselors, Mexican employees of the national program applied the principles and techniques of self-help.

Today the government of Mexico and the *promotores* operate on their own a program that covers 30 of its 31 zones. Nearly 10,000 villages participate in the program. In four years the Mexican people have initiated 15,305 projects and completed 8,573, half of them related to improvements in schools and education, a third to better agricultural production and marketing opportunities, and most of the remaining projects for higher standards of health and sanitation.

CDF training programs have had a special impact in Latin America. The Foundation services including lesson units and manuals in the Spanish language have been used in Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Guyana, Honduras as well as in Mexico.

CDF's largest training program overseas today is in Vietnam with the cooperation of the Agency for International Development. This program, which began in 1967, is training South Vietnamese personnel in the Ministry of Social Welfare to work as mobile teams in refugee areas. Nearly 500 nationals have graduated prepared to meet the critical needs of the refugees for community services to combat apathy and to encourage greater self-reliance.

Within the United States, CDF training programs are springing up outside of the Appalachian area to combat poverty in our decaying urban centers as well as in the rural areas. Over the past few months residents of ghetto communities have sought out the services of the Foundation. CDF courses in the techniques of community self-help are now being offered in Washington, D.C. and in the Connecticut-New York area for members of minority groups and inner city agency personnel.

The dynamic growth of the training program is but one aspect of the vitality of the Community Development Foundation's work for the cause of self-help. Another major dif-

ference between the early CDF program and Foundation services today is in the growth of its reporting system.

To handle the increasing volume of data created through the spreading national programs for community development and to assure full administrative support for the efforts of the people, CDF found it essential to employ modern techniques in data processing. As pioneers in the application of computer technology to community action reporting, CDF first compiled a standard classification of community development projects which serves as a framework for international comparison of national statistics.

The next step was to produce a standard source document to provide the input data for the computer. The result was a single form which serves both to register project and report on its progress from start to finish. Known familiarly as the "PRPR Form", it serves to take care of all routine reporting with a minimum of red tape and allows more time to devote to community organization.

An IBM 1401 card-operated computer installed in 1966, has now been replaced by a 360 tape installation with added capacity and flexibility required by the increasing demand for information.

At the present time the Foundation's International Data Processing Center in Norwalk, Connecticut, provides reporting services for national programs in the Dominican Republic and Honduras; for CDF's village programs in Korea, France, Greece, Lebanon, Tanzania, Vietnam and the Appalachian region and American Indian reservations in the United States; and for the OEO Community Action Agency programs in Kentucky, Tennessee and Pennsylvania.

This reporting system has been most extensively employed in the Dominican Republic where CDF also studies and interprets the information to evaluate the results and the future prospects of the community development efforts. This service is proving of unprecedented value in setting realistic guidelines for effective administration of national programs.

As CDF completes its first decade of progress in the cause of self-help, it is taking another bold new step. Foundation plans have just been completed for the establishment of an International Training Institute with headquarters in Norwalk, Connecticut, where specialized training in CDF techniques for social and economic progress through self-help will be available to agency personnel and community volunteers from any city or state in this country or from developing nations abroad. The institute will serve as an international center where all training materials and techniques, including the use of video tapes and computers, can be coordinated into one comprehensive program of preparation for field work assignments and for follow-up evaluation.

I believe the war on poverty cannot be won in Washington unless it is won in the communities of America. Our national program must coordinate its effort with the needs and the pace of the people and with what each community is willing to do in its own backyard.

Reports from the East Lake Cumberland region of Kentucky show that 250 self-help projects have already been initiated in four counties, and the people of the communities have contributed 70 percent of the investment for these projects. For more than half of the projects, not one cent was advanced as a grant or loan, as the full investment of materials and manpower was recruited and donated by the people themselves.

Through their own self-help efforts, the people of East Lake Cumberland are raising livestock for profit, installing water systems, repairing their homes, growing vegetable gardens, and establishing handicraft centers.

A reporting system helps them to allocate resources and makes it possible to evaluate their own contribution in planning and participation.

The OAP workers of Big Sandy have enrolled in training courses introduced by the Community Development Foundation in August, 1968. The professional workers of the community program have already completed 1,015 hours of classroom study and the nonprofessionals have credit for 3,567 hours in class. Most of them seek help with the problems of leadership and communications, and recently they have asked to study reporting procedures so they may become better aware of community achievement in their areas.

Through community self-help programs, people are discovering and drawing upon resources in themselves which they knew little of before. And it is the resources of people—more than the power of our funds—which must be mobilized if we are ever to conquer the scourge of poverty.

The OEO experience in Appalachia shows that the technical services of the Community Development Foundation are effective allies in our national war on poverty. I believe that they can be used advantageously to meet the problems in our cities as well as in our rural area. May I suggest that you can learn more about these services and the Foundation's remarkable decade of progress in the cause of self-help by writing to the Community Development Foundation, Boston Post Road, Norwalk, Conn. 06852.

#### NATIONAL FARM COALITION

#### HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently, representatives of the National Farm Coalition, composed of 32 general farm, commodity, and cooperative groups, met in St. Louis to urge Congress to take prompt and favorable action on the coalition farm bill, H.R. 14014 and S. 3068.

As one of the sponsors of the House farm coalition bill, I am most interested in seeing the measure adopted in the near future. Farming is a complicated business which should be run according to efficient standards and business-like procedures. Farmers deserve to know in plenty of time under what type of legislation they will be operating so they may plan their work accordingly.

I am in full accord with the views as set forth in the resolution adopted at the recent meeting of the farm leaders. At this time, I am calling this fine statement on the goals in American agriculture to the attention of my colleagues. The resolution follows:

#### RESOLUTION OF NATIONAL FARM COALITION

We, representatives of 32 general farm, commodity, and cooperative groups in the Coalition of Farm Organizations, meeting in St. Louis on April 6, 1970, ask the help of Congress, the Administration, and the American people to make a renewed commitment to the preservation of family agriculture, the attainment of parity prices for agricultural products, and the restoration of rural America.

The industry of agriculture is the greatest creator of wealth in the nation. Farmers do not receive a fair share of the value of this production. Net agricultural income is about the same as it was over 20 years ago. The



economic imbalance thus created is resulting in the depletion of rural communities, and urban areas swollen with people and problems.

The Coalition of Farm Organizations seeks economic equity for agriculture. We seek a system under which farmers can produce to fit the needs of the market. We seek price protection that will prevent hardship. We reaffirm our support of the Coalition Farm Bill (HR 14014 and S. 3068).

The Coalition of Farm Organizations opposes schemes that would weaken production management. Agriculture is not a single entity, but many different crops and commodities, each with its own growing cycle and its own market system. Any proposal that does not recognize this risks chaos in the market place.

We oppose the so-called massive land retirement proposals—whether on a whole farm basis, or farm-by-farm as suggested in the "set aside" plan—because they weaken the production management system. The result of such experimentation could be serious over-production that could bring disastrously low prices, or shortages that could create hardships for consumers.

Price protection must be related to the concept of fairness. Fairness is not possible unless costs of production are considered. This is the central idea of the concept of parity.

The nation must be truly committed to family agriculture, fairness for farmers, and the restoration of rural America. Its commitment must include not only a declaration of purposes and enactment of a sound legal framework, but it must also include allocation of adequate public funds if a viable farm structure is to be preserved and farmers are to share in the nation's economic growth.

Appropriations to meet the needs of agriculture are justified by the fact that consumers now spend less than 17% of their disposable income for food. Of this expenditure, farmers receive only about one-third of the total, or about 5 to 6 percent. No other major world country has ever had such a bargain and at no time have U.S. citizens received these basic essentials of life for so small a percent of their after-tax income. This has occurred because farm net income has failed to increase along with that of the rest of the economy for the past 20 years.

The Coalition is committed to workable production management on a commodity-by-commodity basis. We seek a permanent law that will include those portions of the 1965 Food and Agriculture Act that have proven to be necessary and effective. We seek to strengthen its weaknesses.

Production planning should not be carried out under the threat of unforeseen events that could create consumer shortages. Reserves of wheat, feed grains, soybeans and cotton—insulated from the market but available for use when needed—would remove such a threat.

The federal marketing order system for milk has worked well. It permits producers to participate in market decisions. It has resulted in a more stable dairy economy and has protected consumers. This system should be extended to other commodities, when and if a majority of producers vote for it in referendums.

The nation's commitment to fair prices to agricultural producers must remain firm. Fair prices to producers can only be achieved when price protection is related to the concept of parity.

The Coalition of Farm Organizations is committed to the conservation of America's basic resources of soil, water, and air. The Agricultural Conservation Program has developed the partnership of farmers and the government to achieve this end, and this partnership must be continued.

The Coalition is committed to the service of mankind through agriculture. Hunger must be ended. Food stamps must be avail-

able to all who need them in order to work toward the goal of a balanced diet for every American. Such programs as the Special Milk Program for school children must be continued.

The problems of agriculture cannot be dealt with in general terms alone. The Coalition farm bill improves upon existing law in specific terms. Examples of how the legislation would serve the interests of agriculture are demonstrated by these summary provisions of the bill as follows:

1. The Class I Base Plan for milk should be extended, improved, and made permanent.
2. The present wool program should be extended, including incentive payments to increase domestic wool production.
3. Price protection for corn should be at not less than 90% of parity (\$1.58 per bu., February, 1970), with oats, rye, barley and grain sorghum at comparable levels. The loan levels should be \$1.15 per bushel for corn, and the payment should be 43¢ per bu., with comparable levels for other feed grains.
4. Advance payments for wheat and feed grains payments should be mandatory for up to 50% of payments.
5. The domestic certificate for wheat plus the national average loan rate should provide 100% of parity, or the domestic share of the market.
6. A mandatory wheat export certificate of 65 cents per bu. should be issued to co-operators on not less than 40% of the farm allotment.
7. The cotton program should continue to retain marketing quotas and producer referendums, 65% of parity (Ellender Amendment), and provide for transfer by sale or lease within counties and states where approved in referendums, with a 100-acre limit.
8. Marketing order authority should be extended to any commodity on approval of a majority of the affected producers.
9. The acreage diversion program should be authorized for rice if the national rice allotment in any year is less than that in 1965 with a recommend price floor of 75% of parity.
10. An acreage diversion program for soybeans should be authorized for use when needed.
11. Consumer protection reserves of wheat, feed grains, soybeans and cotton should be established.

#### MEMBERS OF THE FARM COALITION

The National Grange, 1616 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.  
 National Farmers Union, P. O. Box 2251, Denver, Colorado 80201.  
 National Assn. of Wheat Growers, 1030—15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.  
 National Farmers Organization, Corning, Iowa 50841.  
 Midcontinent Farmers Association, 201 South 7th Street, Columbia, Missouri 65201.  
 United Grain Farmers of America, Oakland, Illinois 61943.  
 National Milk Producers Federation, 30 F Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001.  
 Pure Milk Products Cooperative, Box 350, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin 54935.  
 North Carolina Peanut Growers Assn., P.O. Box 409, Rocky Mount, North Carolina 27801.  
 National Rice Growers Assn., P.O. Box 683, Jennings, Louisiana 70546.  
 National Potato Council, 1 Jefferson Plaza—Suite 812 Arlington, Virginia 22202.  
 Virginia Council of Farmer Co-ops, P.O. Box 1034, Richmond, Virginia 23208.  
 Grain Sorghum Producers Assn., 1212—14th Lubbock, Texas 79401.  
 National Corn Growers Assn., P.O. Box 358, Boone, Iowa 50036.  
 Western Cotton Growers Assn., P.O. Box 512, Fresno, California 93709.  
 National Wool Growers Assn., 600 Crandall Building, Salt Lake City, Utah 84101.  
 Soybean Growers of America, Rt. #2, La Fontaine, Indiana 46940.

Virginia Peanut Growers Assn., Capron, Virginia 23829.

Peanut Growers Cooperative Marketing Assn., Franklin, Virginia 23851.

American Rice Growers Co-op Assn., Lake Charles, Louisiana 70601.

Webster County Farmers Organization, Guide Rock, Nebraska 68942.

Vegetable Growers Association, 226 Transportation Building, 17 & H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

North Dakota Feeder Livestock Producers Assn., Ambrose, North Dakota 58833.

Farmers Cooperative Council of No. Carolina, P.O. Box H-1, Greensboro, North Carolina 27402.

National Association of Farmer-Elected Committeemen, Pine Lawn Farms, Newman, Illinois 61942.

Trans-Pecos Cotton Association, 122 Meadowbrook, Pecos, Texas 79772.

Rolling Plains Cotton Growers, Inc., P.O. Box 1108, Stamford, Texas 79553.

Farmers Union Grain Terminal Assoc., St. Paul, Minnesota 55101.

Farmers Union Central Exchange, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101.

Southwestern Peanut Growers Assn., Gorman, Texas.

Farmers Union Marketing and Processing Assn., Redwood Falls, Minn.

#### SPECIAL REPORT/QUESTIONNAIRE ON 1970 ISSUES

#### HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, in each succeeding Congress it has been my practice to poll the people of the Fourth Congressional District of the State of Washington on major issues in the Congress. I have done this as a means of indication as to the views of my constituency, and I have reported the results of the questionnaire, in each case, to my colleagues in the Congress and to the President of the United States.

I intend to again poll my constituency on some of the major questions that are facing us, and my new questionnaire will be sent out within the next week. This year I have adopted what I feel is an improved questionnaire form in that I am utilizing a special report format which allows me to provide more detailed information on each issue so as to assist the recipient in identifying the problems and programs, and to therefore render a more informed opinion.

As soon as the returns are in and tabulated, Mr. Speaker, I plan to again inform my colleagues and the President of the results. The special report/questionnaire being sent to my constituency is as follows:

A SPECIAL REPORT FROM CATHERINE MAY, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE, FOURTH DISTRICT

WANTED: YOUR OPINION

APRIL 1970.

DEAR FRIEND: We are at the crossroads of decision. We have the choice of realigning our priorities and attacking problems in new ways; or, we can continue as we have in the past. As your Representative in Congress, I would greatly appreciate it if you could take a moment to read this Special Report and check (✓) the blanks which correspond most closely to your own opinion. In case a

husband and wife wish to provide separate views, there is a place for "his" and "her" answers. There is also space for your comment if you care to use it. Your prompt response will be most helpful and I thank you for your time and thought.

## WELFARE

One of the most controversial proposals before Congress is the "Family Assistance Plan" which would guarantee a minimum income to every family. The new plan would replace the present welfare program which has often been criticized for encouraging idleness, breaking up families, and robbing people of their dignity and hope for the future. Startup costs of the "Family Assistance Plan" would be higher than the present program, but long-range costs should be less because adult family members would be encouraged to seek jobs and to train for better jobs. Question: Should we scrap the present welfare system and begin the "Family Assistance Plan"?

His: Yes— No—

Her: Yes— No—

Comment: \_\_\_\_\_

## VOLUNTEER ARMED FORCE

A Presidential Commission has strongly recommended that we permit selective service to expire and return next year to the kind of all-volunteer Army, Navy and Air Force that we have had in our country through most of our history. As incentives for voluntary service, the Commission recommends better military pay and fringe benefits. A man would have to agree to serve only as long as required to justify the cost of initial training or any advanced training received. Question: Should we follow the Commission's advice and move to an all-volunteer Armed Force?

His: Yes— No—

Her: Yes— No—

Comment: \_\_\_\_\_

## FOREIGN AID

A new approach to foreign assistance, based on the proposals of a Presidential task force, will be recommended as one of our major foreign policy initiatives in the coming years. The new program would place much more emphasis on international cooperation, with the United States acting in partnership with others, rather than going it alone. The primary aim of such new policy would be the forging of a new structure of world stability in which the burden as well as the benefits would be fairly shared. Question: Should we initiate this new approach to foreign assistance?

His: Yes— No—

Her: Yes— No—

Comment: \_\_\_\_\_

## VOTING AGE

At the present time, voting regulations are set by the individual states and, therefore, each state has it within its power to consider the question of whether the voting age should be lowered. In the State of Washington, the Legislature has decided to submit the question of lowering the voting age to 19 to the voters on the November ballot. More recently, the United States Senate passed a bill to reduce the voting age to 18 nationwide, by direct statute. If approved by the House and signed into law, the change would become effective next January 1. Because the method utilized would bypass the state ratification process of a constitutional amendment, a court test of the constitutional validity of such a direct statute action would be a certainty. Question: Should the U.S. Senate action to lower the voting age to 18 be supported by the House?

His: Yes— No—

Her: Yes— No—

Comment: \_\_\_\_\_

Question: Should the Congress instead submit to the States for ratification a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age?

His: Yes— No—

Her: Yes— No—

Comment: \_\_\_\_\_

Question: Do you favor lowering the voting age in the State of Washington to 19, as submitted to the voters in next November's ballot?

His: Yes— No—

Her: Yes— No—

Comment: \_\_\_\_\_

## DRUG CONTROL

In January the U.S. Senate passed the "Drug Control Act" to revise the federal narcotics and dangerous drug laws. Subcommittee hearings were held in the House in February, but no further action has yet been taken. Most of the debate has centered around a controversial "no knock" provision to allow law enforcement officers to enter places without notice in order to seize drugs which would be destroyed if the officer knocked before entering. Opponents argue that the provision authorizes unreasonable search and seizure expressly forbidden by the Constitution. As the bill passed the Senate, the officer would have to obtain a search warrant and the magistrate issuing the warrant would have to be satisfied that evidence will be destroyed or life endangered if advance notice of entry is given. Question: Should the "no knock" provision be included in the final version of the "Drug Control Act"?

His: Yes— No—

Her: Yes— No—

Comment: \_\_\_\_\_

Special fund raising efforts by Women's Republican Clubs and other public spirited groups throughout our District have enabled me to prepare for distribution to our high schools an informative booklet, "Drug Abuse: A Lonely Way to Nowhere." If you would like a copy of this booklet, please check here ☐ and be sure to fill in your name, address, and zip code below.

(Please Print)

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Zip: \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to: "Opinion";  
Representative Catherine May,  
2332 House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C. 20515

## BIG THICKET NATIONAL MONUMENT

## HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, in 1967, the National Park Service recommended the creation of the Big Thicket National Monument in east Texas.

The 35,500 acres included in the proposal are all privately owned, 55 percent of it being owned by major timberland owners who were commended by former Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall for their voluntary timber cutting moratorium to preserve the area.

A rare combination of 430 national, regional, and local organizations, including the Texas Forestry Association, have adopted resolutions supporting this Big

Thicket National Monument. These organizations include conservation groups, civic clubs, garden clubs, chambers of commerce, labor unions, Commissioners Courts, womens clubs, and others. The list includes resolutions from more than 70 Texas counties and 15 States. The following list of the first 394 such organizations adopting these resolutions, which includes those adopted as of February 13, 1970, is appended as a part of my remarks, as the latest compilation I have:

## ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING A BIG THICKET NATIONAL MONUMENT—AS OF FEBRUARY 13, 1970

## FORESTRY AND ALLIED GROUPS

1. Texas Forestry Association, Lufkin.
2. Texas Forest Products Manufacturers Assn., Lufkin.
3. Forest Farmers Association, Atlanta, Ga.
4. Texas Wood Preservers Advisory Council, Houston.
5. Southern Pine Association, New Orleans, La.
6. Texas Chapter, Society of American Foresters.
7. New York Forest Owners Association, Syracuse, New York.
8. Lumbermen's Association of Texas, Austin.
9. American Wood Preservers Institute, Washington, D.C.
10. American Plywood Association, Tacoma, Wash.
11. National Council of Forestry Assn. Executives, Sewanee, Tenn.
12. Gulf States Section, SAF, Baton Rouge, La.
13. Mississippi Forestry Assn., Jackson, Miss.
14. Alabama Forest Products Assn., Montgomery, Ala.
15. American Forestry Association, Washington, D.C.
16. Alaska Logger's Association, Ketchikan, Alaska.
17. Arkansas Wood Products Assn., Little Rock, Ark.

## WILDLIFE CONSERVATION ORGANIZATION

18. Sportsmen's Clubs of Texas, Austin.
19. East Texas Wildlife Conservation Assn., Silsbee.
20. Hardin County Wildlife Assn., Silsbee.
21. Hardin County Game Preservation Assn., Kountze.
22. Liberty County Dog & Forest Wildlife Protective Assn., Hull.
23. Angelina Rifle & Pistol Club, Lufkin.
24. National Wildlife Federation, Washington, D.C.
25. Hopkins County Rod and Gun Club, Sulphur Spring.
26. Central Texas Sportsman's Club, Temple.
27. Recreation Council, Port Arthur.
28. Sabine and Neches Archers of Port Arthur.
29. Montana Wildlife Federation, Sanders, Mont.
30. Tennessee Conservation League, Knoxville, Tenn.
31. West Virginia Wildlife Federation, Paden City, W. Va.
32. Georgia Sportsmen's Federation, Thomaston, Ga.
33. Indiana Conservation Council, Throntown, Ind.
34. Maryland Wildlife Federation, Hagerstown, Md.
35. Arkansas Wildlife Federation, Stuttgart, Ark.
36. Hawaii Wildlife Federation, Honolulu, Hawaii.

## SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION GROUPS

37. Southeast Texas Resource Conservation and Development Project, Liberty.



38. Jasper-Newton Soil & Water Conservation District, Jasper.
39. Trinity Bay Soil & Water Conservation District, Anahuac.
40. Lower Sabine-Neches Soil Conservation District, Orange.
41. Long Leaf Soil & Water Conservation District, Woodville.
42. Sulphur-Cypress Soil & Water Conservation District, Mt. Pleasant.
43. Upper-Neches Soil & Water Conservation District, Huntington.
44. Piney-Woods Soil Conservation District, Pineland.
45. Coastal Soil & Water Conservation District, Beaumont.
46. Neches-Sabine Soil & Water Conservation District, Tyler.
47. Harrison County Soil & Water Conservation District, Marshall.
48. Polk-Jacinto Soil & Water Conservation District, Livingston.
49. Davy Crockett-Trinity Soil & Water Conservation District, Crockett.
50. Shelby Soil Conservation District, Center.
51. Nacogdoches Soil Conservation District, Nacogdoches.
52. Lower Trinity Soil & Water Conservation District, Liberty.
53. Deep East Texas Association of District Supervisors, Timpson.
54. Cherokee County Soil & Water Conservation District, Jacksonville.
55. Lower Neches Soil & Water Conservation, Silsbee.

## GARDEN CLUBS

56. Lufkin Garden Club.
57. Lufkin Sprig & Twig Garden Club.
58. Dogwood Garden Club, Lufkin.
59. Flower Garden Club, Lufkin.
60. Arrangers Study Club, Tyler.
61. West University Place Garden Club, Houston.
62. Evening Garden Club, Bryan.
63. Year Round Garden Club, Beckville.
64. Bunker Hill Garden Club, Houston.
65. Columbus Garden Club, Columbus.
66. Dogwood Garden Club, Tyler.
67. Briar-meadow Garden Club, Houston.
68. Kilgore Council of Garden Clubs.
69. Green Thumb Garden Club, Pittsburg.
70. Huntington Garden Club of Huntington.
71. Daisy Garden Club, Texarkana.
72. Texarkana, Texas Council of Garden Clubs, Inc.
73. Azalea Garden Club, Tyler.
74. Azalea Garden Club, Trinity.
75. Azalea Garden Club, Conroe.
76. Marshall Garden Club, Marshall.
77. Flora Garden Club, Nacogdoches.
78. Center Garden Club, Center.
79. Camelia Garden Club, Texarkana.
80. Tyler Junior Garden Club, Tyler.
81. Prospectors Garden Club, Tatum.
82. Tyler Garden Club, Tyler.
83. Flower Growers Horticulture of Women's Forum, Wichita Falls.
84. Lake Worth Garden Club, Fort Worth.
85. The Joshua Garden Club, Joshua.
86. Wichita Falls Florarama Council of Garden Clubs, Wichita Falls.
87. Liberty Garden Club, Liberty.
88. Shasta Garden Club, San Antonio.
89. Green Thumb Garden Club, Liberty.
90. Blue Bell Garden Club, Montgomery.
91. Fannie Marchman Garden Club, Mineola.
92. Blue Bonnet Garden Club, Jasper.
93. Magnolia Garden Club, Conroe.
94. Jessie Allen Wise Garden Club, Jefferson.
95. Rusk Garden Club, Rusk.
96. Business Women's Garden Club, New Boston.
97. Ever Green Garden Club, Irving.
98. Mt. Pleasant Garden Club, Mount Pleasant.
99. Hibiscus Garden Club, Corpus Christi.
100. Mimosa Garden Club, Atlanta.
101. Lorenzo Garden Club, Lorenzo.
102. Garden Club Council, Graham.
103. Swan Garden Club, Tyler.
104. Dumas Garden Club, Dumas.
105. Alford Smith Garden Club, Houston.
106. Weed and Wish Garden Club, Houston.
107. Mexia Garden Club, Mexia.
108. Hillsboro Garden Club, Hillsboro.
109. A & M Garden Club, College Station.
110. Westbury Garden Club, Houston.
111. Frostwood Garden Club, Houston.
112. Palm Terrace Petal Pushers Garden Club, Houston.
113. Braesmont Garden Club, Houston.
114. Kilgore Garden Club, Kilgore.
115. McGregor Garden Club, Waco.
116. Briarbrook Garden Club, Houston.
117. Better Garden Club of Corsicana.
118. Ada Burton Garden Club, Dallas.
119. Bluebonnet Garden Club, Brenham.
120. Gay Gardeners Garden Club, Tyler.
121. Azalea Garden Club, Omaha.
122. Pearland Garden Club, Pearland.
123. Business & Professional Women's Garden Club, Texarkana.
124. Graham Garden Study Club.
125. Tomball Garden Club.
126. Teague Garden Club.
127. Green Acres Garden Club, Tyler.
128. Homesteaders Garden Club, Houston.
129. Marion Wilcox Junior Garden Club, Tyler.
130. Linden Garden Club.
131. Lazy Daisy Garden Club, Houston.
132. Southside Place Garden Club, Houston.
133. Mason Hill Garden Club, Houston.
134. Les Belles Fleures Garden Club, Houston.
135. Lynn Park Garden Club, Houston.
136. Fonde Park Garden Club, Houston.
137. Vassar Place Garden Club, Houston.
138. Green Briar Garden Club, Houston.
139. Chevy Chase Garden Club of Houston.
140. Towering Pines Garden Club, Houston.
141. Westbury Methodist Garden Club, Houston.
142. Montclair Garden Club, Houston.
143. Indian Shores Garden Club, Crosby.
144. Junior Group of the Marianne Scruggs Garden Club, Dallas.
145. Texana Garden Club, Dallas.
146. Kickapoo Garden Club, Dallas.
147. Sunnyvale Garden Club, Sunnyvale.
148. Santa Rosa-Gulfgate Garden Club, Houston.
149. Crestview Garden Club, Dallas.
150. Good Earth Garden Club, Lancaster.
151. Acorns to Oaks Garden Club, Dallas.
152. Hypericum Study Club, Dallas.
153. Dirt Gardeners Horticulture Club, Baytown.
154. Bingle Bonnet Garden Club, Houston.
155. Loveland Garden Club, Dallas.
156. Fleures des Jeunes Garden Club, Dallas.
157. Green Thumb Garden Club, Dallas.
158. Sims Bayou Garden Club, Houston.
159. Bee & Thistle Garden Club, Dallas.
160. Twentieth Century Garden Club, Dallas.
161. Elysian Garden Club, Dallas.
162. Ladies of the Leaf, Midlothian.
163. Garden Club of Spring Valley, Houston.
164. Lakeview Garden Club of Mesquite.
165. Calacium Garden Club, Dallas.
166. Estates North Garden Club, Richardson.
167. C.P.A. Wives Garden Club, Dallas.
168. Terrell Garden Club, Terrell.
169. Civic Garden Club of Cameron.
170. Crestwood Garden Club, Houston.
171. Oak Cliff Society of Fine Arts Garden Club, Dallas.
172. Highland Oaks Gardeners, Dallas.
173. Champions Garden Club, Houston.
174. Lake Park Garden Club, Dallas.
175. Garden Arts Garden Club, Lancaster.
176. Hampshire Oaks Garden Club, Houston.
177. Lake Highlands Garden Club, Dallas.
178. Forest Cove Garden Club, Humble.
179. Kermit Garden Club, Kermit.
180. Rosemay Garden Club, Dallas.
181. Cliff Gardeners, Dallas.
182. Garden Group of the College Women's Club, Houston.
183. Garden Study Club, Dallas.
184. Garden Study Club, Groves.
185. Dallas College Club Gardeners of A.A.U.W.
186. Bending Oaks Garden Club, Houston.
187. Rose Garden Club of Texarkana.
188. Benbrook Garden Club, Ft. Worth.
189. Junior Perennial Garden Club, Dallas.
190. Garden Club of Flower Lovers, Dallas.
191. Cinderella Garden Club of Westbury, Houston.
192. Blue Bonnet Club of Houston.
193. Southern Garden Club, Dallas.
194. Dirt Dobbers Garden Club of Oak Cliff, Dallas.
195. Willa Largent Garden Club, McKinney.
196. Sugarland Garden Club, Sugarland.
197. Gaston Park Garden Club, Dallas.
198. Cedar Hill Seeders Garden Club, Cedar Hill.
199. Lake Terrace Garden Club, Dallas.
200. St. Bernard Garden Club, Dallas.
201. Gardeners Garden Club, Dallas.
202. Friendswood Garden Study Club, Friendswood.
203. Purple Sage Garden Club, Bellaire.
204. Periwinkle Garden Club of Garland.
205. Cedar Haven Garden Club, Dallas.
206. Arts & Flowers Garden Club, Dallas.
207. Maple Leaf Garden Club, Houston.
208. Bud and Blossom Garden Club, Garland.
209. Meadow Gate Garden Club, Dallas.
210. Amigas de las Flores Garden Club, Dallas.
211. Arts and Garden Department of the Dallas Woman's Forum.
212. Westwood Garden Club, Cedar Hill.
213. Sunbonnet Lou Garden Club of Dallas.
214. Straw Hat Garden Club, Garland.
215. Progressive Garden Club, Dallas.
216. Rainbow Garden Club of Jacinto City, Houston.
217. White Rock Garden Club, Dallas.
218. Blue Bonnet Garden Club of Garland.
219. Work and Hope Garden Club, Rockwall.
220. Advanced Garden Study Club, Dallas.
221. Grand Prairie Garden Club, Grand Prairie.
222. Oakland Plaza Garden Club, Houston.
223. Denver Garden Club, Houston.
224. Hallettsville Garden Club, Hallettsville.
225. Merriman Park Garden Club, Dallas.
226. Brookhaven Garden Club, Dallas.
227. Windsor Village Garden Club, Houston.
228. Caruth-University Terrace Garden Club, Dallas.
229. Larchwood Landscapers Garden Club, Dallas.
230. May Dale Garden Club, Texarkana.
231. The Groves Garden Club, Groves.
232. Driftwood Garden Club, Houston.

## CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

233. Angellia County Chamber of Commerce, Lufkin.
234. Montgomery County Chamber of Commerce, Conroe.
235. Texarkana Chamber of Commerce.
236. Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.
237. Nacogdoches Chamber of Commerce.
238. Huntsville-Walker County Chamber of Commerce, Huntsville.
239. Trinity Chamber of Commerce, Trinity.
240. Polk County Chamber of Commerce, Livingston.
241. Tyler County Chamber of Commerce, Woodville.
242. Jasper Chamber of Commerce.

243. East Texas Chamber of Commerce, Longview.
244. San Augustine Chamber of Commerce.
245. Marion County Chamber of Commerce.
246. Silsbee Chamber of Commerce.
247. Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.
248. Tyler Chamber of Commerce.
249. Greater Bellaire Chamber of Commerce, Bellaire.
250. Trinidad Chamber of Commerce.
251. Palestine Chamber of Commerce.
252. Chamber of Commerce of Kirbyville.
253. Commerce Chamber of Commerce.
254. Groves Chamber of Commerce.
255. Center Chamber of Commerce.
256. Liberty Chamber of Commerce.
257. Caldwell Chamber of Commerce.
258. Kilgore Chamber of Commerce.
259. Mexia Chamber of Commerce.
260. Temple Chamber of Commerce.
261. San Antonio Chamber of Commerce.
262. Gladewater Chamber of Commerce.
263. Fairfield Chamber of Commerce.
264. Mineola Chamber of Commerce.
265. Linden Chamber of Commerce.
266. Daingerfield Chamber of Commerce.
267. Longview Chamber of Commerce.
268. Greater Dallas Women's Chamber of Commerce.
269. Greater Port Arthur Chamber of Commerce.
270. Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce.
271. Women's Chamber of Commerce, Dallas.

FARM BUREAU GROUPS

272. Polk County Farm Bureau, Goodrich.
273. Angelina County Farm Bureau, Lufkin.
274. Shelby County Farm Bureau, Center.
275. Liberty County Farm Bureau, Liberty.
276. Nacogdoches County Farm Bureau, Nacogdoches.
277. Trinity County Farm Bureau, Trinity.
278. Harris County Farm Bureau, Hockley.

PILOT CLUBS

279. Pilot Club of Diboll.
280. Pilot Club of Conroe.
281. Pilot Club of Beaumont.
282. Pilot Club of Brenham.

OTHER WOMEN'S CLUBS

283. San Augustine Heritage Women's Club.
284. Historical & Literary Society of Lufkin.
285. Angelina County Home Demonstration Council, Lufkin.
286. Home Demonstration Club Members of Shelby County, Center.
287. Smith County Women's Home Demonstration Council, Tyler.
288. Kirbyville Chapter of Young Homemakers, Kirbyville.
289. San Augustine Chapter—Young Homemakers of Texas.
290. Zavalla Chapter, Young Homemakers of Texas.
291. Tejas Chapter, Daughters of the Republic, Beaumont.
292. Robert Henry Chapter, Daughters of the Republic of Texas, Bryan.
293. William Scott Chapter, DAR, Bryan.
294. Libertad Chapter—Daughters of American Revolution, Liberty.
295. Alexander Love Chapter DAR, Houston.
296. Altrusa Club of Texarkana.
297. Altrusa Club of Dallas.
298. Altrusa Club of Bryan—College Station.
299. Beaumont Federated Women's Club.
300. 1933 Study Club of Jefferson, Texas.
301. American Business Women's Association, Woodville.
302. Texana Chapter, American Business Women's Assn., Fort Worth.
303. Pine Burr Chapter of American Business Women's Assn., Silsbee.
304. Four Leaf Chapter of American Business Women, Texarkana.

305. Dal-Ten Chapter of American Business Women's Assn., Dallas.
306. Aurora Chapter, American Business Women's Assn., Port Arthur.
307. Huntsville Business Women's Service Club, Huntsville.
308. Junior Women's Club of Cleveland.
309. Village Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star, Texarkana.
310. Business and Professional Women's Club, Marshall.
311. Livingston Business and Professional Women's Club, Livingston.
312. Longview Business and Professional Women's Club, Longview.
313. Sulphur Springs Business and Professional Women's Club.
314. Texarkana Business and Professional Women's Club.
315. Tyler Business and Professional Women's Club.
316. Mt. Pleasant Business and Professional Women's Club, Mt. Pleasant.
317. South Fort Worth Business and Professional Women's Club, Ft. Worth.
318. Palestine Business and Professional Women's Club.
319. Greater Dallas Business and Professional Women's Club.
320. Wynnewood Business and Professional Women's Club, Dallas.
321. Upper Gulf Coast District of the Texas Press Women.
322. Houston Branch, American Association of University Women.

CIVIC CLUBS

323. Diboll Jaycees.
324. Texarkana Jaycees.
325. Cleveland Jaycees.
326. Huntsville Jaycees.
327. LaMarque Jaycees.
328. Kilgore Jaycees.
329. Port Arthur Jaycees.
330. Forest Hills Jaycees, Fort Worth.
331. Gainesville Jaycees.
332. Palestine Jaycees.
333. Nederland Jaycees.
334. Jacksonville Jaycees.
335. Sulphur Spring Jaycees.
336. Jefferson, Texas Lions Club.
337. Trinity Lions Club.
338. Longview Evening Lions Club.
339. Tyler Lions Club.
340. Tatum Lions Club.
341. Jasper Lions Club.
342. Silsbee Lions Club.
343. Beaumont Lions Club.
344. Livingston Lions Club.
345. Gilmer Lions Club.
346. Linden Lions Club.
347. Magnolia Lions Club.
348. Huntsville Lions Club.
349. Southwest Lions Club, Fort Worth.
350. Nacogdoches Evening Lions Club.
351. Texarkana Lions Club.
352. Texarkana Evening Lions Club.
353. Northeast Richland Area Lions Club, Fort Worth.
354. Columbus Evening Lions Club.
355. Grapevine Lions Club.
356. West Side Lions Club, Fort Worth.
357. Kiwanis Club of Cleveland.
358. Kiwanis Club of Lufkin.
359. Kiwanis Club of Huntsville.
360. Kiwanis Club of Longview.
361. Downtown Kiwanis Club of Fort Worth.
362. Kiwanis Club of Palestine.
363. Kiwanis Club of Silsbee.
364. Greater Fort Worth Kiwanis Club.
365. Kiwanis Club of Nacogdoches.
366. Kiwanis Club of Texarkana.
367. Lufkin Civitan Club.
368. Texarkana Civitan Club.
369. Cowtown Civitan Club, Fort Worth.
370. Oak Cliff Civitan.
371. Cleveland Optimist Club.
372. Mid-Cities Optimist Club, Hurst.
373. Breakfast Optimist Club, Fort Worth.
374. Orange Noon Optimist Club.

375. Oak Cliff Breakfast Optimist Club.
376. Optimist Club of Great Southwest Industrial District, Arlington.
377. Northeast Optimist Club, Fort Worth.
378. Jasper Rotary Club.

MISCELLANEOUS GROUPS

379. Southern States Industrial Council, Nashville, Tenn.
380. Beaumont Unit of National Association of Parliamentarians.
381. Deep East Texas Development Association, San Augustine.
382. Aztlan Development Association, Trinity.
383. Trinity Development Cooperation, Trinity.
384. American Legion Post #304, Jefferson.
385. Earl Graham Post 159 American Legion, College Station.
386. Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Int. Union CIO, Local No. 4-592, Silsbee.
387. Central East Texas Chapter #8, Texas Surveyor's Association, Livingston.
388. East Texas Surveyors, Chapter 4, Athens.
389. Deep East Texas Chapter of the Texas Surveyor's Assn., Woodville.
390. Commissioners Court of Tyler County, Woodville.
391. Bellaire 4-H Club, Bellaire.
392. Tyler Board of Realtors, Tyler.
393. Builders Association of Fort Worth & Tarrant County.
394. East Texas Association of Petroleum Landmen, Tyler.

OIL AND THE ENVIRONMENT

HON. RICHARD D. MCCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, the water pollution control legislation recently passed by the Congress imposes penalties on the refiner, driller, or shipper who spills oil along our coastline. It requires for the first time that the responsible party pay the costs of cleaning up the damage caused by oil to beaches, wildlife and other commercial property. There are limitations in the law passed by Congress. The law does not cover those areas regulated by the Federal Government falling outside of the territorial limit. These areas are subject to control by the existing regulations of the Department of the Interior and depend on the effectiveness of the Department to see that oil drilling and shipment is controlled.

There are greater limitations in the approach to the oil spill problem taken in the law just passed. Ecologists and biologists tell us that it may be impossible to correct the damage done by oil spills to sections of our coastline. A report from Norway indicates that the effects of oil spilled from a refinery in a fjord were still evident 10 years after the accident. Other reports tell us that as much as 2 million tons of oil each year may be discharged into the oceans from the washing of the tanks aboard ships. An oil spill of this magnitude makes an individual ship accident seem small by comparison.

What is needed now are not so much remedies for cleaning up after oil spilled as means of preventing the oil spill in the first place. It was only after many



years that we developed the regulations requiring the oil driller to dispose of the salt water often found when drilling for oil in a manner that preserves the environment. We no longer allow the driller to let this salt water to run into local streams or to pollute the surrounding area. Now that we have developed the technology that permits us to drill for oil on the ocean bottom, we must also insist that this technology include means that insure that oil will not be spilled in the ocean. We also can insist that the tankers that carry oil and the refineries that change the crude oil into the many refined products do not pollute their environment. The solutions to these problems will not be easy, and they will not be solved with advertising in magazines. They will probably cost money to solve. But this is money that we must spend if we are to prevent the destruction of our environment.

I am including the following article by J. Russell Wiggins that appeared in the Boston Sunday Globe on April 5, 1970, on the oil spill problem for the information of my colleagues:

SINCE "TORREY CANYON" SPLIT, OIL SPILLS ARE WORLD CONCERN  
(By J. Russell Wiggins)

WASHINGTON.—Public awareness of oil as a major pollutant of the seas probably began on Mar. 18, 1967, when the 120,000-ton Torrey Canyon went aground on Pollard's Rock off the coast of Cornwall. It has been sharpened by the sinking of the *Marpessa*, the Santa Barbara drill break and the collisions of tankers from Jacksonville to Nova Scotia.

It has been increased by debates over siting of oil terminals and refineries such as that which Stuart Petroleum Co. proposed at Piney Point, Md.; which King Resources is building on Long Island in Casco Bay and which three oil companies have projected at Machiasport, Maine.

It took these controversies to awaken the world to the fact that seaborne oil commerce in 30 years has increased from 84 million tons to 893 million tons, until it represents more than 60 percent of all the ocean commerce of the world. As it has increased in volume, it has increased as a pollution menace because the percentage of petroleum shipped as crude oil (the most toxic form) has increased from 26 percent to 77.8 percent.

The Torrey Canyon provided a dramatic and even spectacular demonstration of the risks. But, as J. H. Kirby, managing director of Shell International Marine Ltd., of London, has pointed out, the total annual potential pollution arising from the washing out of cargo tanks is as much as 6,000 tons a day, or more than two million tons per year, dwarfing such isolated calamities as the wreck of the Torrey Canyon in terms of environmental consequences.

As to pollution by accidental spills, a revealing statement was made by G. Mack, of the Norwegian Water Conservation and Water Hygiene Assn. He reported an accidental spill in Oslo fjord in 1958 and said:

"The effects on the parts of the shore, which were affected are still felt, ten years afterwards. We tried to clean this oil off with the means available at the time; detergents, mechanical action, all kinds of methods. We found that the cost might exceed \$4.80 per shore meter or as much as \$12 per meter.

"In these waters (and I believe that this is the case in some other areas that could be compared to this fjord) the approach is not very easy, fog and currents make the approach at times rather difficult. It is not only the trouble of the navigation of the tankers itself but also of other vessels in the same

approach. In the Oslo fjord, as we now have a refinery that receives ships of more than 100,000 tons, we could write off the Oslo fjord for five or ten years. There is no means to control this amount of oil quickly enough to avoid it hitting the shore all around the fjord, and I think such conditions also prevail around other oil refineries. In such cases, when big tankers approach these ports, they should be treated as if they were carrying about the same amount of dynamite; and the measures adopted should be in accordance with this."

#### HOW MUCH?

How much damage has been done by the enormous quantities of oil put into the sea by normal operations and by accidents?

Science is not prepared to give a definitive answer to this. Some biologists minimize the damage and point to the fact that oil is subject to bacterial deterioration and disperses when spilled in the open sea. Some minimize the lasting effects of occasional oil pollution and argue that oil, after all, occurs in nature. Others are appalled by the results of spills.

An accurate measurement of the effect of oil spills on ocean life probably is beyond existing knowledge. A cubic foot of sea water may contain 20,000 plants and 120 animals or eggs, and plankton of the sea. Many of these organisms are extremely sensitive to pollution and even to changes in temperature and salinity. They are the foundation of life in the seas. What happens when oil penetrates all horizons of the sea is beyond measure.

#### BIRD AND FISH

More is known about the effect of oil on bird life than is known about its effect on life beneath the surface. Here the testimony, while fragmentary, is appalling.

Prof. R. B. Clark, department of zoology, University of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, summarized the effects on birds this way:

"The immediate effect of oil is upon the plumage. The feathers become matted together, destroying the water-repellent property of the plumage and allowing water to replace the air normally trapped in it. When the plumage becomes waterlogged in this way a number of complications follow. The birds lose their buoyancy and an unknown but probably large number of them sink low in the water and drown. A more important consequence of wetting the plumage is that it loses its thermal insulating properties; the birds become chilled and in order to maintain their body temperature, rapidly use up their food reserves which are chiefly in the form of sub-cutaneous fat, reducing still more the insulating layer. They are unable to catch food and so become emaciated. In an effort to clean themselves, they preen and in doing so swallow quantities of oil. There is some dispute about the toxicity of oil but they certainly contract acute enteritis."

According to Clark, bird losses as the result of oil have been observed for years in the Baltic where oil dumping was finally prohibited in 1967. Mortality of ducks amounted to 35,000 in 1952, 10,000 in 1954, 40,000 in 1957.

#### THE GRAND BANKS

The Grand Banks and Newfoundland suffer from heavy pollution, as many as 460 birds a mile have been found killed on the shores, mostly Brunnich's guillemot. A tanker in San Francisco Bay contaminated 55 miles of shoreline in 1937 and killed 10,000 birds. Two tankers wrecked off the Massachusetts coast in February, 1952, cut the wintering population of eider ducks from 500,000 to 150,000. The wreck of the freighter *Seagate* killed thousands of guillemots in 1956 and oiled birds were found ashore at 132 to the mile. The German tanker *Seestern* pumped out 1700 tons of crude oil on a rising tide in 1966 and 5000 birds were killed.

When the Torrey Canyon went aground some 8000 oiled seabirds were treated in England, 2000 in France and the mortality probably was many times greater. Of 7849 birds treated by the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in England, only 450 were alive two months after the grounding according to environment.

In addition to killing birds, of course, oil adversely affects nesting and reproduction, imposing further inroads on bird population.

Dr. Max Blumer, senior scientist of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, recently was quoted in the New Yorker as saying that the residue of oil spill on the surface of the sea already equals the amount of its surface plant life. Dr. Richard Backus is quoted in the same publication as saying that "there is a lump as big as a pencil eraser on every square yard of sea surface." Dr. Howard Sanders of Woods Hole, in the same account, discussed the effects of a spill of 75,000 gallons of no. 2 fuel oil near Woods Hole last September. He said:

"There are windrows of dead and dying animals on the beach for days . . . dozens of species of fish washed up dead, plus shellfish, marsh grasses and bottom living eels and worms . . . since September, every time we have a storm, enough oil appears to get stirred back into the water to produce a new kill of fish. The river, the beaches, the bottom out to a depth of about forty feet are completely dead."

None of the animals that lived there remain, and the area is only now beginning to be repopulated, by one species—A worm that thrives only in polluted waters and has never been found here before."

There is no practical way of dealing with large spills. Detergents and emulsifiers only worsen the effect and disperse the pollution to every horizon. Spreading straw on shores and gathering it up when it has absorbed oil seems to be the present most effective way of dealing with spills. Spills at sea dissipate and disperse and are subject to bacterial deterioration, but slicks can be carried great distances.

The world-wide menace of the petroleum trade has already caused damage beyond estimate to the life of the seas in general.

The public, with a new awareness of oil's potential as a pollutant is justly apprehensive of its effects both on world-wide ecology and on local natural resources, wherever oil is transported or handled.

#### NEED TO PROTECT THE U.S. WATERS

HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, I have joined with numerous colleagues in the sponsorship of legislation which I will term to be "landmark" in nature for the 1970's. My support is fully behind H.R. 16427, a bill to require the establishment of marine sanctuaries and to prohibit the depositing of any harmful materials therein.

This bill would help return our marine life to an invigorating biological environment and it is a bill which would put some teeth into the administration of the law, when enacted.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 16427 would authorize the Secretary of the Interior, through the Fish and Wildlife Service, to establish marine sanctuaries to preserve and protect a balanced marine ecology

whether it is off the coast of Florida, at Lake Mead in southern Nevada, at Lake Tahoe in Nevada and California, the Colorado River in the great West and Southwest, or at Malibu Beach.

The bill incorporates the fact that it would be prohibitive to anyone to deposit any harmful materials into navigable waters, including rivers, harbors, lakes, or coastal waters, where the Secretary of the Interior has designated those certain waters as marine sanctuaries. Most notably, this concerns waters where the mating and spawning of fish and the growth of other marine life takes place.

And, of particular importance, the legislation would help supply the needed teeth in the law to insure the perpetuation of the species of our fish life.

The Secretary of the Interior, through the U.S. Coast Guard, would be backed up in this legislation by a \$10,000 civil penalty against anyone who would be found, but not limited to discharging, spilling, leaking, pumping, pouring, emitting, emptying, or dumping any sewage, sludge, spoil, or other waste into or onto any of the coastal waters or submerged land waters the Secretary of the Interior would designate as a marine sanctuary.

#### PAY RAISE

### HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Chairman, I am going to vote for H.R. 16844, to increase the pay of Federal employees by 6 percent, with specific emphasis on the plight of the postal worker, but I do so with misgivings.

The administration's pay increase package comes just 2 months after the President requested a postal pay raise delay until January 1, 1971. Now, we are witnessing an administration about-face in which the administration approves a 6 percent raise for all Federal employees, retroactive to December 27, 1969. Back in February of this year, we were informed that by postponing the pay raise until January 1971, the administration could have a budget surplus and thus, fight inflation.

I, too, seek a balanced budget. I, too, support fiscal responsibility. How does the administration propose to pay for this \$2½ billion package? The answer is simple, but inequitable; the administration is proposing to pay for the salary increase for all Federal employees by raising the rate of first-class mail to 10 cents—a 67-percent increase.

Mr. Chairman, the housewife who pays her bills by mail does not want to pay for a 6 percent pay increase for a Federal employee making \$25,000 to \$30,000, nor does the mother who writes her son in the Army or in college.

There is little doubt that most of our Government employees need a raise in pay simply to exist at a decent standard of living. There is little doubt that the

postal clerks and letter carriers are grossly underpaid. As a matter of fact, a letter carrier or distribution clerk, after 21 years service, earns \$1,864 less than the amount needed to sustain a moderate standard of living. As postal employee at mid range—a PFS 5, step 4—receives only \$111 above the Bureau of Labor Statistics standard for a low standard of living.

Thus, I have no reservation in granting a pay raise for those Federal employees in the lower brackets. In addition, I have no reservation in granting the military in the lower ranks a 6 percent pay raise. But, this bill does more than that. It grants raises for all Federal employees. It also grants raises for congressional staff assistants and other individuals, some of whom may be making as high as \$25,000 to \$30,000 a year.

So, in order to cure the problem of wages in the lower levels, we grant raises to everybody. I can understand granting a raise to an individual, such as the letter carrier, who currently has a starting salary of \$6,176. This bill raises his starting salary to \$6,548. But I cannot understand, nor can I justify in my own mind a 6 percent raise for Federal employees currently making \$30,000 or more. Under this bill, they will receive a raise of \$1,800. This will further compound present inequities.

This bill grants the beginning postal employee a \$375 increase and, in the same bill, it grants a \$394.20 increase to congressional pages. Mr. Speaker, granting an across-the-board percentage to all federal employees is not my idea of equity in achieving "comparability."

I realize that the members of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee had an extremely difficult task. After the administration labeled the pay increases in H.R. 13000, the Federal Pay Comparability Act, as "inflationary" and as granting "disproportionate benefits to postal employee," the committee had to adjust its thinking to avoid a possible veto. Now, in accordance with the administration's request, we grant a 6-percent increase to all Federal employees.

Mr. Chairman, I feel we should achieve comparability for our Federal employees with private industry. I feel that the Federal Government should not allow its employees to hover near poverty. But, I do not believe this shotgun approach is justified.

For this reason, I voted against the rule which does not allow for amendments. I feel this bill should be amended in order to provide pay raises for those who have earned it and those who need it in order to feed, clothe, and educate their children.

I strongly support the portions of this bill which grant raises to the lower levels of Government employees. I strongly support the pay raise for the military. But I feel that any additional raises for those in the upper pay brackets are not necessary at this time, especially in this unprecedented era of inflation where the Government must examine the impact of each dollar it spends on its overall effect on our overheated economy.

### DEATH OF PENROSE B. METCALFE, A MAN OF NATIONAL PROMINENCE, MOURNED

### HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, on March 6, Penrose B. Metcalfe of San Angelo, Tex., expired at his home there. He gained national prominence because of having served two terms as president of the National Wool Growers Association. And he achieved a very distinguished record in Texas in many fields of endeavor. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a news article under a San Angelo, Tex., dateline, concerning Mr. Metcalfe. The article follows:

#### PENROSE B. METCALFE

SAN ANGELO, TEX., March 25.—Penrose B. Metcalfe, honorary president of the National Wool Growers Association, died at his home in San Angelo, Texas, March 6. Funeral services were held in San Angelo, March 9.

He had been in ill health suffering a stroke November 11, 1967. A cousin, Mrs. Margie Ferry, had resided at the Metcalfe home and supervised his care. There are several cousins surviving him. He never married.

Mr. Metcalfe was president of the National Wool Growers Association in 1961-62 after serving as a vice president of the Association from 1954 to 1961.

In addition, he was a charter member of the Texas Sheep and Goat Raisers Association, and served as its president in 1953 and for many years was a director.

While president of the National Wool Growers Association, Mr. Metcalfe promoted a lamb judging conference at Texas A & M, aimed at formulating judging standards which more nearly fit the type of carcass demanded by the modern consumer.

Born, November 24, 1893, at the XQZ Ranch, operated by his father the late C. B. Metcalfe, Penrose Metcalfe graduated with honors from San Angelo schools and entered Texas A & M college the same year, 1912. He majored in animal husbandry, graduating in 1916, with a B.S. degree in agriculture. He was a top livestock judge.

Mr. Metcalfe saw service in World War I, enlisting in the Signal Corps in the aviation section in 1917. He was commissioned a first lieutenant the same year and became a pilot in the fall of 1918. He was discharged from the service as a captain in the Air Corps.

Civic minded, Mr. Metcalfe, served five years as a member of the Tom Green County School Board; eight years as a member of the Texas House of Representatives; eight years as a member of the Texas Senate; two years as a member of the Upper Colorado River Authority, being chairman of that body; and member of the State Board of Education from 1950 until 1967 when physical disability precluded his service. As a legislator he was active in livestock matters, finance and education. He served as chairman of the numerous committees in the Texas House and Senate. He was listed in Who's Who in America.

An astute politician, Mr. Metcalfe back in 1965 said that agriculture needs to embark on an immediate education program to inform the American public of its problems and how these problems affect consumers. At that time he said, "Farmers and ranchmen are the American public's best friends."

Mr. Metcalfe operated a ranch near Tankersley. Three loyal Latin Americans who had served his father had been helpers on the



ranch for many years. His father died in 1941, his mother in 1967.

A very special interest of Penrose Metcalfe's was the future of America and the agricultural industry as exemplified by its youth. He was an extremely generous benefactor of many of the leading young people in his home state and in recognition of his service to the schools was named a lifetime member of the Parent-Teacher Association. He also became an honorary Lone Star Farmer, a designation of the Future Farmers of America. He spoke frequently before youth farm organizations.

Mr. Metcalfe was honored by many groups but one of the most cherished honors came to him in October, 1965 when he was presented the Distinguished Service Award at the National Convention of the Future Farmers of America in Kansas City.

"The FFA and 4-H Club groups are undoubtedly two of the finest youth programs in our country," he said at that time. "Those young men and women should be commended for their wonderful work. I don't worry so much about our nation's future welfare when I see and associate with them. They will continue to uphold this nation's greatness," he predicted.

#### THE ROLE OF EASTERN EUROPE

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, the January 1970 issue of *European Bulletin* and Press carried an article by our distinguished colleague, Representative HENRY HELSTOSKI of New Jersey. In his article, entitled "The Role of Eastern Europe," Congressman HELSTOSKI deals cogently with the various issues and conflicts that have led to the current political situation in Eastern Europe.

Mr. HELSTOSKI's article follows:

#### THE ROLE OF EASTERN EUROPE

The recent visit of President Nixon to East Europe has focused renewed attention on an area of great importance to the United States. The exceptionally friendly reception of an American president by First Secretary Ceausescu of Rumania suggests new opportunities for expanding East-West dialogue. The current debate over our policy toward the neighbors of Soviet Russia comes at a time of great changes in Eastern Europe. It has become trite to speak of polycentrism in Communism today. But this development and the dramatic repercussions of the Sino-Soviet split have had a great impact on members of the Soviet camp. The decentralization of Communism has given the governments of East Europe leverage in Moscow and choices and options which they were denied under Stalin. Since the death of Stalin in 1953, Communism in Europe has mellowed to the point where certain countries are approaching a European type of Socialism. The Communist Party establishment has become more responsive to the demands of interest groups for reform and an improved living standard. East-West trade, diplomatic dialogue, travel, and cultural and scientific exchange have lifted the iron curtain.

In spite of these positive developments in East Europe, there are obstacles to a reunion of East and West. The ruling elites of some countries such as Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania and until last year, Czechoslovakia, have accepted domestic reform and followed a rather independent course in foreign policy. But the political elites

of Poland, East Germany and Bulgaria have consistently echoed Soviet foreign policy objectives and obstructed domestic changes. Some members of the Warsaw Pact intervened in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 to halt liberalization in Prague.

The action has affected all aspects of domestic and foreign affairs in East Europe and in US-Soviet relations. The invasion upset the military balance in Europe. The Soviet Union has reasserted its intention to protect Soviet interests in East Europe. The split between Party moderates and dogmatists has been widened. Both positive and negative aspects of current trends in East Europe are important to US policy-makers.

Just as vital to the issue of East-West relations is the source and nature of Party rule. Legitimacy of government is a vital and embarrassing subject to Communist elites. Their desire to misrepresent historical reality and popular spontaneity to legitimize their rule is reflected in the efforts to Communist governments to rewrite history. While interpretations may vary of how Communist Parties rose to power in East Europe, the circumstances of this process are less disputable. Due to the support of Soviet armies which occupied the area, it was relatively easy for the pro-Soviet faction of coalition governments of the postwar period to take power. For this reason, most Communist governments in East Europe owe their existence to Soviet Russia. This relationship is a highly sensitive issue for the ruling elites of these very nationalistic and even anti-Soviet countries. According to the Party's account, the Red Army "liberated" their countries in spite of Western opposition in collusion with emigre groups eager to seize power. In order to support the myth of popular mandate for the rule of the Communist Party, elections were held in the late forties as agreed at the Allied conference at Yalta in February 1945. Once the Communist Party had become the controlling faction in the coalition, governments, elections were held as stipulated at Yalta, and Communist-sponsored candidates won majority support. It is unlikely that the elections were free or fair under the conditions of occupation. In this manner, the intentions of the Western powers were corrupted when carried out by Communists.

Another factor which obstructs East-West détente is the presence of Soviet troops in East Europe. Originally stationed as armies of occupation, Russian soldiers have remained in the number of 260,000 excluding those now stationed in Czechoslovakia. Within the past several years, Warsaw Pact members have proposed a mutual US-Soviet troop withdrawal from Europe. This scheme would "neutralize" Europe, with the members of the United States and Soviet camp protected by the nuclear umbrella of the superpowers. The proposal suggests, in effect, the end of the military Cold War.

While this aim may be theoretically desirable, its motives and practical implications are not so clear. According to the proposal, US troops would withdraw across the Atlantic, while Soviet armies would merely retreat behind Russian borders. Some members of NATO have rejected the plan. Wary of a "sell-out", West Germany consistently reminded the United States of its commitments to its West European allies, for West Germany would bear the brunt of an armed attack by forces of the Soviet camp. Soviet objectives in supporting the plan remain ambiguous. The current discussion of mutual withdrawal is accompanied in the Soviet press by a propaganda barrage against West German "revanchism". After all, the intervention in Czechoslovakia was undertaken in the name of defense of a Socialist state against subversion by West German militarists. Such factors prohibit a true military neutralization of Europe.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Meanwhile, the Cold War continues not without Soviet participation. For example, the Brezhnev doctrine has contributed to East-West tensions. The theory of limited sovereignty of Socialist states was an *ex post facto* justification of the invasion, which in fact was an act of Soviet imperialism. This theory is a contemporary ideological version of the doctrine of intervention, a tactic used by the Tsars to defend imperial Russian interests in East Europe. Just as Tsarist Russia suppressed the Hungarian revolution of 1848, Socialist Russia stifled the Czechoslovak reform movement of 1968. A rapprochement with the Soviet Union would include East Europe as a traditional area of primary interest to Russia, Tsarist or Communist.

In spite of these obstacles to détente, the conditions of modern nuclear warfare demand mutual control of nuclear weapons. Nuclear defense arrangements by either superpower have built a spiral of escalation of the arms race. Efforts to promote arms control are in the interest of all men. The Soviets have recognized the wisdom of progress toward nuclear disarmament and have offered several plans for arms control. For example, they have recently submitted a draft treaty banning military uses of the seabed. Premier Kosygin himself has blessed the idea: "It would be highly important to bring about agreement to the effect that the seabed and the ocean floor are not to be used for military purposes, but remain a sphere of man's peaceful activities."<sup>1</sup> Addressing the Supreme Soviet July 10, 1969, Foreign Minister Gromyko suggested that a nuclear-free zone be created in the Mediterranean "for the security of Europe and also for the African continent and the Near and Middle East. In the same speech Gromyko committed the USSR against the arms race which "long ago became a folly." The United States is discussing proposals for the nuclear-free seabed at the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva and has designated a delegation to the SALT disarmament talks. Arms control is one of the many areas where US-Soviet dialogue can be expanded despite many conflicting interests of which Europe is a major one. If both superpowers are ready to explore nuclear arms control, they may have to persuade East and West Europe to accept a US-Soviet accommodation on that issue on behalf of a general global interest.<sup>2</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Institute of Strategic Studies, Military Balance, 1969. London, 1969, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> New York Times, March 19, 1969.

<sup>3</sup> The New Leader, December 16, 1969.

#### PRESENT AGRICULTURE POLICY, WHICH PERMITS BEEF AFFLICTED WITH CANCER TO REACH CONSUMERS, TO GET NEW LOOK

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Special Studies Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, I held hearings in the beginning of October 1969, to ascertain the Federal responsibility for retail price increases for beef in the spring of 1969. During those hearings reference was made, with respect to meat imports, to a difference between foreign and American meat inspection. It was stated that

under American meat inspection, if an animal is found to have tuberculosis-infected glands, "the carcass goes to the tank for destruction and the whole section of the plant is sterilized so as to be certain no infection is passed along."

Like many others, I was especially concerned, therefore, when the press stated that an advisory committee of the Department of Agriculture had recommended that the Department abandon its policy requiring condemnation of a chicken found to contain a single visible lesion or lymphoid tumor showing the presence of a disease of the lucosis complex, including Marek's disease. In view of the testimony at the October hearings as to the practice with respect to tuberculosis found in animals, I had the subcommittee staff check out the matter with the Slaughter Inspection Division of the Consumer and Marketing Service of the Department of Agriculture. "The Federal Meat and Poultry Inspection Statistical Summary for 1969"

revealed that, as to certain diseases, carcasses are passed for food after removal of affected parts. I refer to table 4 and table 5 of the cited statistical summary. Some of these diseases are the same as those for which complete condemnation occurs. See tables 2 and 3 of the cited statistical summary. The headings are, for example, "Tuberculosis Reactor Showing Lesions," "Carcinoma," and "Epithelioma." The four tables of the statistical summary are appended at the end of my remarks.

It would thus appear that the testimony at the hearings was not in accord with current practice. Accordingly, after the Department of Agriculture had announced at the beginning of February that no changes would be made in the longstanding Federal inspection policy under which poultry affected with diseases of the leukosis complex are condemned, I wrote the Secretary of Agriculture, calling his attention to the fact that the same policy was not being fol-

lowed with respect to inspection of meat animals.

I requested the Secretary of Agriculture to advise me whether he believed it desirable to reexamine the inspection policy of his Department so that inspection of animals and poultry would proceed with the same caution in determining fitness for human consumption.

I am pleased to say that I have since received a reply from the Department of Agriculture advising that it is undertaking discussions with the Surgeon General's Office to arrange to study specific items such as those referred to by me to determine if current scientific information indicates a need for change. While the Department of Agriculture, together with the Surgeon General, are beginning arrangements to undertake such reviews, they have not as yet begun. As the results of these reviews are made available to me, I shall see to it that they are made public.

TABLE 2.—NUMBER OF ANIMALS CONDEMNED FOR VARIOUS DISEASES AND CONDITIONS ON ANTEMORTEM INSPECTION, FISCAL YEAR 1969

Cause of condemnation	Cattle	Calves	Sheep and lambs	Goats	Swine	Horses
<b>Degenerative and dropsical conditions:</b>						
Anasarca	18		1			
Emaciation	120	7	50		43	
Miscellaneous	22		2		75	
<b>Infectious diseases:</b>						
Actinomycosis	5					
Anaplasmosis	2	2				
Hog cholera					22	
Leptospirosis	1					
Listerellosis	14		1			
Mucosal diseases	2					
Necrobacillosis and necrosis					5	
Swine erysipelas					14	
Miscellaneous	6	1	1		1	
<b>Inflammatory diseases:</b>						
Enteritis, gastritis, and peritonitis	14	102	11		55	
Mastitis	67					
Metritis	46		1		20	
Nephritis	10	2	1		23	
Pericarditis	59					
Pleurisy and pneumonia	134	81	15	2	58	42
Miscellaneous	30	12	2		25	
<b>Neoplasms:</b>						
Carcinoma	9				3	
Epithelioma	1,145	1				
Malignant lymphoma	9				1	
<b>Cause of condemnation</b>	<b>Cattle</b>	<b>Calves</b>	<b>Sheep and lambs</b>	<b>Goats</b>	<b>Swine</b>	<b>Horses</b>
<b>Sarcoma</b>	2		1			
<b>Miscellaneous</b>	4					2
<b>Parasitic conditions: Miscellaneous</b>	1		2			
<b>Pigmentary conditions: Miscellaneous</b>						1
<b>Septic conditions:</b>						5
Residue, drugs						
Residue, pesticide	3					
Residue, miscellaneous	2					12
Abscess or pyemia	38	11	2			596
Septicemia	59	20	29			74
Toxemia	81	17	13			25
Miscellaneous	9		6			10
<b>Other:</b>						
Arthritis	65	55	13			507
Asphyxia	6	13				
Dead in Pens	5,216	11,929	10,815	776	52,909	154
Icterus	7	3				95
Immaturity		120	4			10
Injuries	36	61	16			16
Morbund	2,319	2,388	898	3	1,511	15
Pyrexia	207	30	69			319
Suspect died in pen	822	1,145	310	38	2,100	4
Tetanus	37	13	5			24
Uremia	40	12	27			2
Miscellaneous general	55	5	1			44
<b>Total</b>	<b>10,722</b>	<b>16,033</b>	<b>12,293</b>	<b>819</b>	<b>58,607</b>	<b>221</b>

TABLE 3.—NUMBER OF CARCASSES CONDEMNED FOR VARIOUS DISEASES AND CONDITIONS ON POST-MORTEM INSPECTION, FISCAL YEAR 1969

Cause of condemnation	Cattle	Calves	Sheep and lambs	Goats	Swine	Horses
<b>Degenerative and dropsical conditions:</b>						
Anasarca	1,092	26	93	6	49	2
Emaciation	5,332	2,401	11,508	367	551	119
Miscellaneous	1,047	20	382		266	8
<b>Infectious diseases:</b>						
Actinomycosis	806	5				
Anaplasmosis	387	6				
Caseous lymphadenitis			11,656	495		
Hog cholera					149	
Johnes disease		11				
Leptospirosis	15				11	
Listerellosis	7		20			
Mucosal diseases	5					
Necrobacillosis and necrosis	108	1			18	
Swine erysipelas					2,350	
Tuberculosis nonreactor	72	3			4,251	
Tuberculosis reactor showing lesions	103					
Miscellaneous	13	4	4		88	
<b>Inflammatory diseases:</b>						
Enteritis, gastritis, peritonitis	3,988	2,560	391		7,287	18
Eosinophilic myositis	4,430	11	111		10	
Mastitis	1,096		10	2	51	1
Metritis	1,830	3	270	14	906	3
Nephritis	3,366	579	554	6	2,473	8
Pericarditis	4,435	105	182	2	1,076	18
Pleurisy and pneumonia	11,424	5,172	7,592	107	15,753	86
Miscellaneous	430	322	555	5	459	5
<b>Neoplasms:</b>						
Carcinoma	2,561	13	27		189	12
Epithelioma	6,103	2				
<b>Cause of condemnation</b>	<b>Cattle</b>	<b>Calves</b>	<b>Sheep and lambs</b>	<b>Goats</b>	<b>Swine</b>	<b>Horses</b>
<b>Malignant lymphoma</b>	4,831	95	69	2	1,561	10
<b>Sarcoma</b>	225	1	8	2	133	74
<b>Miscellaneous</b>	760	18	69	7	541	36
<b>Parasitic conditions:</b>						
Cysticercosis	103		306			
Stephanuriasis					1,876	
Miscellaneous	278	15	5,147		114	1
<b>Pigmentary conditions:</b>						
Melanosis, Nonmalignant	79	38	21		260	20
Miscellaneous	93	5	3	1	69	2
<b>Septic conditions:</b>						
Residue, drug	148	29	16			91
Residue, pesticide	11	4	19			4
Residue, miscellaneous	29	2	5			7
Abscess or pyemia	8,590	852	2,518	314	24,950	24
Septicemia	5,286	2,598	664	30	8,046	13
Toxemia	2,251	835	137	7	1,668	
Miscellaneous	151	39	954		2,115	
<b>Other:</b>						
Arthritis	1,233	2,094	1,723	29	15,422	2
Asphyxia	46	122	70	3	2,645	1
Bone conditions	40	12	9		84	1
Contamination	241	60	323	16	5,135	2
Icterus	434	2,075	1,584	8	11,563	
Immaturity		1,248	9		75	
Injuries	3,601	2,434	1,779	77	4,208	70
Normal			1,050			
Sexual odor					615	
Skin conditions					183	
Uremia	1,407	75	1,701	1	1,121	1
Miscellaneous general	138	75	39		577	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>78,598</b>	<b>23,966</b>	<b>51,578</b>	<b>1,501</b>	<b>119,000</b>	<b>539</b>



TABLE 4.—NUMBER OF CARCASSES RETAINED FOR VARIOUS DISEASES AND CONDITIONS BUT PASSED FOR FOOD AFTER REMOVAL OF AFFECTED PARTS—FISCAL YEAR 1969<sup>1</sup>

Cause of retention	Number of carcasses of—					
	Cattle	Calves	Sheep and lambs	Goats	Swine	Horses
<b>Degenerative and dropsical conditions:</b>						
Anasarca	107	2	1		37	
Miscellaneous	566	12	25		402	
<b>Infectious diseases:</b>						
Actinomycosis	251,700	2,186				
Anaplasmosis	111	3				
Caseous lymphadenitis			86,412	13,191		
Coccidioid granuloma	5,734	89				
Johnes disease	55					
Leptospirosis	8				40	
Listeriosis	15		17			
Mucosal diseases	129					
Necrobacillosis and necrosis	147	3			10	
Tuberculosis nonreactor	564	88			865,770	
Tuberculosis reactor showing lesions	322	3				
Tuberculosis reactor showing no lesions	1,276	73				
Miscellaneous	94	4	1		9	
<b>Inflammatory diseases:</b>						
Adhesions	575,054	18,030	104,196	6,095	668,214	743
Enteritis, gastritis, peritonitis						
Eosinophilic myositis	1,638	886	103		830	1
Metritis	1,411	1	5	1	180	
Mastitis	4,971		7		59	
Metritis	1,584	39	34		247	2
Nephritis	9,159	3,114	598		4,018	4
Pericarditis	3,267	341	813		1,917	5
Pleurisy and pneumonia	109,532	53,152	51,729	3,051	110,583	3,240
Miscellaneous	27,919	2,266	2,067	51	16,111	19
<b>Neoplasms:</b>						
Carcinoma	168	4	53		152	1
Epithelioma	102,669	104				
Miscellaneous	899	23	92		547	3
<b>Parasitic conditions:</b>						
Cysticercosis	6,608	42	15,275			
Cysticercosis (refrigeration)	4,345	15				
Stephanuriasis					185,813	
Miscellaneous	47,244	2,525	15,098	1	105	
<b>Pigmentary conditions:</b>						
Melanosis, nonmalignant	463	130	132		1,209	474
Miscellaneous	880	10	82		1,744	
<b>Septic conditions:</b>						
Residue, drug	147	9	5		63	
Residue, pesticide	82	25	184		213	
Residue, miscellaneous	16				38	
Abscess or pyemia	509,175	17,529	41,633	539	3,057,502	5,258
Miscellaneous	283	20	4		877	
<b>Other:</b>						
Arthritis	120,730	16,587	41,748	1,698	685,928	733
Bone conditions	1,058	275	322	5	1,116	5
Contamination	653,428	89,052	287,935	1,672	1,492,817	560
Icterus	14	7	10		146	
Injuries	826,037	68,750	84,406	3,198	547,516	4,048
Normal	6,916	903	667	2	9,031	28
Sexual odor					301	
Skin conditions	55,408	26,077	14,145	44	149,850	2
Miscellaneous general	2,528	860	502		2,979	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,334,462</b>	<b>303,239</b>	<b>748,301</b>	<b>29,548</b>	<b>7,806,483</b>	<b>15,126</b>

<sup>1</sup> Does not include those reported in table 3.TABLE 5.—NUMBER OF PARTS OF CARCASSES<sup>1</sup> CONDEMNED FOR VARIOUS DISEASES AND CONDITIONS ON POST-MORTEM INSPECTION, FISCAL YEAR 1969

Cause of condemnation	Parts of carcasses of—					
	Cattle	Calves	Sheep and lambs	Goats	Swine	Horses
<b>Degenerative and dropsical conditions:</b>						
Anasarca	45	1			138	
Miscellaneous	144	3	1		19	
<b>Infectious diseases:</b>						
Actinomycosis	205,916	2,156				
Caseous lymphadenitis			208			
Coccidioid granuloma	22	1				
Listeriosis	86	2				
Mucosal diseases	110	1			176	
Necrobacillosis and necrosis	644	69			662,142	
Tuberculosis nonreactor	129	1			5	
Miscellaneous			1			
<b>Inflammatory diseases:</b>						
Eosinophilic myositis	1,057	1	2			
Miscellaneous	2,397	164	72		95	2
<b>Neoplasms:</b>						
Carcinoma	238		22		206	1
Epithelioma	101,741	102				
Miscellaneous	98	8			1	
<b>Parasitic conditions:</b>						
Cysticercosis	548		22			
Stephanuriasis					2,599	
Miscellaneous	119		48	1	1	
<b>Pigmentary conditions:</b>						
Melanosis, Nonmalignant	136	18	2		352	139
Miscellaneous	750	6			1,401	7
<b>Septic conditions:</b>						
Residue, drug	38				38	
Residue, pesticide	15				23	
Residue, miscellaneous	106,729	5,207	768	59	2,078,080	4,701
Abscess or pyemia	162	9			213	
Miscellaneous						
<b>Other:</b>						
Arthritis	7,616	1,329	7,232	3	37,711	31
Bone conditions	253	49	198		683	
Contamination	367,662	54,993	203,986	742	1,296,862	182
Injuries	20,982	5,498	4,293	230	86,032	344
Miscellaneous general	691	7	3		134	
<b>Total</b>	<b>818,330</b>	<b>69,623</b>	<b>216,858</b>	<b>1,035</b>	<b>4,166,888</b>	<b>5,407</b>

<sup>1</sup> A part of a carcass refers to a separate portion, such as a head, a ham, or a shoulder.

## MR. FREDERICK SWEET NO MEMBER OF "SILENT" MAJORITY

## HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

As UNION EDITOR: MR. FREDERICK SWEET NO MEMBER OF "SILENT" MAJORITY

Whether the problem at hand involves the internal union struggles for leadership or the busing of students to obtain racial equality in our schools, a distinct and independent voice rings out weekly in The Union Advocate, the voice of organized labor in the greater St. Paul area. Mr. Frederick Sweet, editor of The Union Advocate since January of 1968, has worked untiringly to bring about social progress. Mr. Sweet is not a member of the "silent" majority.

"I suppose some people look upon me as a maverick because I sometimes hold unorthodox views in the labor movement," stated Mr. Sweet, "but I always demand an independent mind."

Mr. Sweet's views on "busing"—unpopular with a major segment of the population—are a good example. In a portion of an editorial dated February 19, 1970, Mr. Sweet stated:

"The same people who flatly oppose school busing also vote down open housing and the steps needed to find good jobs for all at steady wages, the kind of jobs people must have to be good neighbors."

"This whole nation is becoming alarmed about the pollution of air and water and soil . . . Isn't it time to add white racism to the list of pollutants threatening our children's future?"

"How much difference is there between U.S. Steel's stiff-necked refusal to end the menace of its stacks to the city of Duluth, and the stiff-necked refusal of the white majority to pull down the walls of segregation?"

When I went to interview Mr. Sweet at his

office at 440 Minnehaha Avenue, he didn't invite me to sit down. It wasn't necessary; the subtle smile beneath his keen eyes made me know I was welcome.

He is a busy man. He sat hunched behind piles of correspondence and galley proofs spread upon his desk. A candy jar of red-striped mints jutted bravely out among the waves of paper like a small lighthouse. Mr. Sweet paused in his work, offered a mint, and then helped himself.

"My philosophy as a union editor is quite simple," stated Mr. Sweet, munching deliberately on his mint. "Working people, given the facts, will come to sensible conclusions. The purpose of a union paper is to make those facts available . . . you have to treat the reader as a grown-up!" He added emphatically.

This faith in the working man is also extended to the youth of this country. The angry frustrated youth who burns an American flag or a draft card every time he can locate a tv camera—the "Media Kid" as the press calls him—doesn't alter Mr. Sweet's opinion of the younger generation.

"Youth of today have a great capacity for whittling away the hypocrisy and propaganda in our society. They are looking with honest eyes, listening with honest ears, and making the most of information available. I've witnessed this in my own children. I have no fear of the future."

Throughout the interview, a keen eyed owl, made from driftwood, stared down from his perch on a cluttered file cabinet, as if watching for my reaction to Mr. Sweet's words. I finally stared back and smiled.

#### AN AMERICAN CREDO

### HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, a fact of human nature sometimes overlooked is that it is often easier to be against something than for something. This lack of positive concern and support for important values is certainly not limited to any age group. Rather, all of us, young and old, sometimes succumb to this attitude.

With the hope of raising the current level of debate concerning national priorities, the war in Vietnam, and a host of other vital issues, I would like to insert in the RECORD a statement simply but appropriately titled "American Credo."

Profound in its expression of basic truth, the "Credo" speaks for itself. I recommend it to the attention of my colleagues with the hope that they will find it equally inspiring and thought-provoking.

The statement follows:

*"Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair; the rest is in the hands of God."*

GEORGE WASHINGTON,  
Constitutional Convention, 1787.

#### AMERICAN CREDO

(Written Into Their History by the American People)

We believe:

That, as God is the common Father, all men are brothers, branches of the same Vine. In God we trust.

That individuals are created equally important, but with differing qualities, capacities, and talents; and that good relations among individuals rest necessarily upon a recognition of, and respect for, these differences;

That progress of any community depends upon the individual growth and development, and the mutual co-operation of its members;

That every individual should be both permitted and encouraged to assert his qualities, develop his capacities, and exercise his talents, and that a share of community resources should be available to him in his immature years for his education to this end;

That every individual should have equal opportunity to find his natural rank or position in his community, appropriate to his inborn and developed characteristics—no less, no more;

That every individual's obligations and responsibilities to his community are commensurate with the rank or position he attains;

That a nation is a community of individuals;

That an individual is superior to his creations, and that a community of individuals are superior to any abstract state or governmental institution they may create;

That the government of a national community should be by consent of the individuals who compose the community, and that they should be free to choose and change the government, either as to form or as to its officials, according to their opinion of its suitability;

That the majority will should prevail in national decisions, but that the members of the minority should have the same rights and obligations as members of the majority, and that there should be equal justice for all citizens under law;

That application of these principles will always yield common respect for the dignity of the individual, and will yield freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and the other "unalienable rights" of individuals;

That in a nation so conceived, freedom from want will be more fully achieved than through any other organization of the same community, and that the sacrifice of these essential principles in the hope of securing greater wealth or economic security is a vain and foolish concession which is not only wrong in itself, but also will yield the contrary result;

That any political creed which ridicules the concept of God and denies the worth of religion cannot possibly rest upon an understanding of the eternal verities that give substance to the faith of the American people in their way of life; and, finally,

That peace, good will, and mutual understanding will prevail among nations that give uninterrupted expression to these principles, for they will recognize their common interests as parts of the Whole.

### ANCHER NELSEN PROPOSES AN AMENDMENT TO WHOLESOME MEAT ACT OF 1967

### HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, the Wholesome Meat Act, passed in 1967, was a great step in the direction of assuring the American consumer clean, inspected meat. Within that act, however, is a provision, which, under Department of Agriculture interpretation, would result in great hardships to hundreds of small, locker-slaughter plants throughout our Nation.

The act, as it now stands, does not allow the sale of meat slaughtered in federally inspected plants if the seller engages in custom slaughtering operations. Many small operators must offer both services to stay in business, and unless we change the law this year, the Department of Agriculture will have to enforce these harsh regulations.

The proposal I have cosponsored, H.R. 16485, is a result of long deliberations with the Department of Agriculture, concerned Members of Congress, and the National Institute of Locker and Freezer Provisioners, the trade association for locker plant owners,

Specifically, our bill would amend the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967 to permit such local locker plants which market

retail meat to also continue custom slaughter and packaging work on the same premises. Provisions are included to assure that all meat processed will be prepared under satisfactory sanitary conditions. Another safeguard requires that all custom meat be labeled "not for sale" immediately after packaging.

I have been in close contact with the Minnesota Commissioner of Agriculture, Mr. Robert Carlson. He stated recently in summing up the problem:

We in Minnesota will never compromise the quality and wholesomeness of the public meat supply. But a judicious compromise on facilities standards is needed to allow this small but vital service industry represented by our small packers and custom slaughterers to survive.

This situation exists throughout our Nation, and I hope my colleagues will join in support of this important amendment.

### MICHIGAN AUDUBON SOCIETY

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 8, 1970

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Michigan Audubon Society at its recent annual meeting adopted several resolutions "on preserving and restoring the quality of our environment and providing education to achieve that end."

So that my colleagues may have an opportunity to be aware of these expressions of concern over the quality and state of our environment, I include the text of the resolutions at this point in the RECORD:

#### RESOLUTIONS ON PRESERVING AND RESTORING THE QUALITY OF OUR ENVIRONMENT AND PROVIDING EDUCATION TO ACHIEVE THAT END

The members of the Michigan Audubon Society, in annual meeting assembled this 31st day of January 1970, in the city of Grand Rapids, Michigan, hereby adopt the following resolutions as setting forth this Society's concerns and desires for the environment:

Whereas, the quality of the environment and the quality of life in Michigan, in our United States, and around the world have progressively deteriorated in recent years and will unalterably become worse if the present course of events is not checked; and

Whereas, the basic cause of this deterioration lies in the ever-increasing numbers of human beings, the urbanization of society, and the failure of modern technology to dispel or recycle the wastes of humanity and industry; and

Whereas, most inhabitants of this state, nation, and world lack an understanding of the complexity of the environment, and most present educational systems and institutions fail to provide an adequate knowledge of the basic social, physical, and ecological interactions of the environment;

Therefore, be it resolved, that the Michigan Audubon Society recommend to appropriate officials of appropriate government agencies and educational institutions, named hereinafter, and to our fellow citizens of the State of Michigan, of these United States, and this spaceship Earth, the immediate implementation of certain actions, namely:

#### ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

1. That present state and federal concern over environmental quality and pollution be



translated from talk into action, by dynamic programs, perceptive legislation, generous appropriations, and vigorous enforcement of existing laws;

2. Specifically, that the Michigan Legislature permit citizen action through the courts to protect the quality of environment more effectively, by passage of such legislation as the Natural Resource and Environmental Protection Act (Michigan Legislature House Bill 3055), and that this Act be called to the attention of the other 49 states;

3. That current state and federal actions and intent, to restrict or prohibit the use of DDT and other biocides, not be permitted to lose momentum, and that the goals of the Secretary's Committee on the Relationship of Pesticides to Environmental Health of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare be implemented and carried to completion without delay, and that these be expanded to prohibit export of such biocides from this nation;

4. Specifically, that the Michigan Legislature, protect the surface of our beautiful state (1) by requiring restoration to reasonable use standards of lands exploited and laid bare by strip mining, quarrying, and removal of sand and gravel, (2) by setting aside for posterity key sections of relatively unspoiled streams of this state as Scenic, Recreation, or Wild Rivers, and (3) by zoning future development of the shoreline of the Great Lakes under sound ecological, recreational, and engineering principles; and

5. Specifically, that the Michigan Legislature protect the quality of recreation on state and federal public lands and prevent damage to those resources (1) by limiting operation of snowmobiles to established trails on these lands and by reducing the noise pollution they produce, and (2) by prohibiting recreational use of the all-terrain vehicle (ATV); and

#### POPULATION

6. That current educational efforts now being made by state, federal, and private agencies to publicize the critical nature of the population threat and the necessity for its abatement be pressed; and

7. That State Legislatures and the Congress enact without delay legislation leading to and encouraging reasonable, effective, and prompt means of achieving a stabilization of our population, and that similar goals be sought worldwide;

#### EDUCATION

8. That concepts of environmental awareness and natural resource ecology be incorporated into the required curriculum of public and private schools everywhere;

9. That each school system or educational institution, at all levels, singly or jointly with others, acquire by purchase, gift, or grant a sizable tract of land, to serve as an environmental teaching center;

10. That all school teachers be urged to take a college-level, ecologically-oriented course in environmental problems including human population; that colleges and universities offer increased opportunities for such a course for all students and for teachers, and that appropriations be made available to enable colleges and universities to enlarge their teaching staff to provide such instruction; and

11. That the students, faculty, and administration of colleges and universities, and the citizens of the communities where they reside be encouraged to utilize to the fullest the impending Teach-in on the Environment scheduled for the nation's campuses on April 22, 1970, and thereby demonstrate to the nation and the world the willingness of the total community to share in the concern and determination of today's youth to achieve a cleaner environment and a better world for tomorrow.

#### APPRECIATION

Be it further resolved, that the Michigan Audubon Society extends its sincere thanks to the Grand Rapids Audubon Club for hosting the Sixty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Society; that it commend all members of the committees and the general chairman, Norma Raby, for the excellence of the arrangements; and the program chairman, Mary Jane Dockeray, for the excellence and the pertinence of the program; and

#### IMPLEMENTATION

Be it further resolved, that copies of these resolutions be sent to Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States; William G. Milliken, Governor of Michigan; the Governor of the other forty-nine states; the clerks of both houses of the Michigan Legislature and of the U.S. Congress; the chairmen of the appropriate committees of the Michigan Legislature and the U.S. Congress related to natural resources, education, agriculture, and pollution control; all members of the Michigan Legislature and the Michigan delegation to the U.S. Congress; the Secretaries of the U.S. Departments of Interior, Agriculture, and Health, Education and Welfare; the Directors of the Michigan Departments of Natural Resources, Agriculture and Public Health, and the State Superintendent of the Department of Education; the chairmen of the Michigan Commissions of Natural Resources, Water Resources, Air Pollution, and Agriculture, and of the State Board of Education; the chairman of the Michigan Advisory Council for Environmental Quality; the superintendents of all school districts in Michigan; the chief administrative officers of private schools, junior and community colleges, colleges, and universities; the presidents of the Michigan Natural Resources Council, Federated Garden Clubs of Michigan, Michigan Association of Conservation Ecologists, Michigan Parks Association, Michigan United Conservation Clubs, Michigan League of Women Voters, Michigan Pesticide Council, Sierra Club, National Audubon Society, National Wildlife Federation, and other organizations concerned with environmental education and conservation, which may wish to sponsor and send out similar resolutions; and to the Associated Press, United Press International, the Michigan Outdoor Writers, Walter Cronkite, the Huntley-Brinkley team, and other appropriate news media.

Respectfully submitted,

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE,  
ROLLIN BAKER,  
JOAN BRIGHAM,  
KENNETH HORTON,  
WILLIAM THOMPSON,

Ex officio.

CHARLES "TED" BLACK,  
Chairman.

#### MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a child asks: "Where is daddy?" A mother asks: "How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,400 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

#### SELECTIONS FROM "THE ENVIRONMENTAL HANDBOOK": III

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 8, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, here are three more of the valuable articles which comprise "The Environmental Handbook," edited by Garrett De Bell and published by Bantam Books. These selections are from that part of the "Handbook" called "The Meaning of Ecology."

#### THE ECONOMICS OF THE COMING SPACESHIP EARTH

(By Kenneth E. Boulding)

The closed earth of the future requires economic principles which are somewhat different from those of the open earth of the past. For the sake of picturesque, I am tempted to call the open economy the "cowboy economy," the cowboy being symbolic of the illimitable plains and also associated with reckless, exploitative, romantic, and violent behavior, which is characteristic of open societies. The closed economy of the future might similarly be called the "spaceship" economy, in which the earth has become a single spaceship, without unlimited reservoirs of anything, either for extraction or for pollution, and in which, therefore, man must find his place in a cyclical ecological system which is capable of continuous reproduction of material form even though it cannot escape having inputs of energy. The difference between the two types of economy becomes most apparent in the attitude towards consumption. In the cowboy economy, consumption is regarded as a good thing and production likewise; and the success of the economy is measured by the amount of the throughput from the "factors of production," a part of which, at any rate, is extracted from the reservoirs of raw materials and noneconomic objects, and another part of which is output into the reservoirs of pollution. If there are infinite reservoirs from which material can be obtained and into which effluvia can be deposited, then the throughput is at least a plausible measure of the success of the economy. The gross national product is a rough measure of this total throughput. It should be possible, however, to distinguish that part of the GNP which is derived from exhaustible and that which is derived from reproducible resources, as well as that part of consumption which represents effluvia and that which represents input into the productive system again. Nobody, as far as I know, has ever attempted to break down the GNP in this way, although it would be an interesting and extremely important exercise, which is unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper.

By contrast, in the spaceship economy, throughput is by no means a desideratum, and is indeed to be regarded as something to be minimized rather than maximized. The essential measure of the success of the economy is not production and consumption at all, but the nature, extent, quality, and complexity of the total capital stock, including in this the state of the human bodies and minds included in the system. In the spaceship economy, what we are primarily concerned with is stock maintenance, and any technological change which results in the maintenance of a given total stock with a lessened throughput (that is, less production and consumption) is clearly a gain. This idea that both production and consumption are

bad things rather than good things is very strange to economists, who have been obsessed with the income-flow concepts to the exclusion, almost, of capital-stock concepts.

There are actually some very tricky and unsolved problems involved in the questions as to whether human welfare or well-being is to be regarded as a stock or a flow. Something of both these elements seems actually to be involved in it, and as far as I know there have been practically no studies directed towards identifying these two dimensions of human satisfaction. Is it, for instance, eating that is a good thing, or is it being well fed? Does economic welfare involve having nice clothes, fine houses, good equipment, and so on, or is it to be measured by the depreciation and the wearing out of these things? I am inclined myself to regard the stock concept as most fundamental, that is, to think of being well fed as more important than eating, and to think even of so-called services as essentially involving the restoration of a depleting psychic capital. Thus I have argued that we go to a concert in order to restore a psychic condition which might be called "just having gone to a concert," which, once established, tends to depreciate. When it depreciates beyond a certain point, we go to another concert in order to restore it. If it depreciates rapidly, we go to a lot of concerts; if it depreciates slowly, we go to few. On this view, similarly, we eat primarily to restore bodily homeostasis, that is, to maintain a condition of being well fed, and so on. On this view, there is nothing desirable in consumption at all. The less consumption we can maintain a given state with, the better off we are. If we had clothes that did not wear out, houses that did not depreciate, and even if we could maintain our bodily condition without eating we would clearly be much better off.

It is this last consideration, perhaps, which makes one pause. Would we, for instance, really want an operation that would enable us to restore all our bodily tissues by intravenous feeding while we slept? Is there not, that is to say, a certain virtue in throughput itself, in activity itself, in production and consumption itself, in raising food and in eating it? It would certainly be rash to exclude this possibility. Further interesting problems are raised by the demand for variety. We certainly do not want a constant state to be maintained; we want fluctuations in the state. Otherwise there would be no demand for variety in food, for variety in scene, as in travel, for variety in social contact, and so on. The demand for variety can, of course, be costly, and sometimes it seems to be too costly to be tolerated or at least legitimated, as in the case of marital partners, where the maintenance of a homeostatic state in the family is usually regarded as much more desirable than the variety and excessive throughput of the libertine. There are problems here which the economics profession has neglected with astonishing single-mindedness. My own attempts to call attention to some of them, for instance, in two articles,<sup>1</sup> as far as I can judge, produced no response whatever; and economists continue to think and act as if production, consumption, throughput, and the GNP were the sufficient and adequate measure of economic success.

It may be said, of course, why worry about all this when the spaceman economy is still a good way off (at least beyond the lifetimes of any now living), so let us eat, drink, spend, extract and pollute, and be as merry as we can, and let posterity worry about the spaceship earth. It is always a little hard to find a convincing answer to the man who says, "What has posterity ever done for me?" and the conservationist has always had to fall back on rather vague ethical principles postulating identity of the individual with some human community or society which ex-

tends not only back into the past but forward into the future. Unless the individual identifies with some community of this kind, conservation is obviously "irrational." Why should we not maximize the welfare of this generation at the cost of posterity? *Après nous, le déluge* has been the motto of not insignificant numbers of human societies. The only answer to this, as far as I can see, is to point out that the welfare of the individual depends on the extent to which he can identify himself with others, and that the most satisfactory individual identity is that which identifies not only with a community in space but also with a community extending over time from the past into the future. If this kind of identity is recognized as desirable, then posterity has a voice, even if it does not have a vote; and in a sense, if its voice can influence votes, it has votes too. This whole problem is linked up with the much larger one of the determinants of the morale, legitimacy, and "nerve" of a society, and there is a great deal of historical evidence to suggest that a society which loses its identity with posterity and which loses its positive image of the future loses also its capacity to deal with present problems, and soon falls apart.<sup>2</sup>

Even if we concede that posterity is relevant to our present problems, we still face the question of time-discounting and the closely related question of uncertainty-discounting. It is a well-known phenomenon that individuals discount the future, even in their own lives. The very existence of a positive rate of interest may be taken as at least strong supporting evidence of this hypothesis. If we discount our own future, it is certainly not unreasonable to discount posterity's future even more, even if we do give posterity a vote. If we discount this at 5 percent per annum, posterity's vote or dollar halves every fourteen years as we look into the future, and after even a mere hundred years it is pretty small—only about 1½ cents on the dollar. If we add another 5 percent for uncertainty, even the vote of our grandchildren reduces almost to insignificance. We can argue, of course, that the ethical thing to do is not to discount the future at all, that time-discounting is mainly the result of myopia and perspective, and hence is an illusion which the moral man should not tolerate. It is a very popular illusion, however, and one that must certainly be taken into consideration in the formulation of policies. It explains, perhaps, why conservationist policies almost have to be sold under some other excuse which seems more urgent, and why, indeed, necessities which are visualized as urgent, such as defense, always seem to hold priority over those which involve the future.

All these considerations add some credence to the point of view which says that we should not worry about the spaceman economy at all, and that we should just go on increasing the GNP and indeed the gross world product, or GWP, in the expectation that the problems of the future can be left to the future, that when scarcities arise, whether this is of raw materials or of pollutable reservoirs, the needs of the then present will determine the solutions of the then present, and there is no use giving ourselves ulcers by worrying about problems that we really do not have to solve. There is even high ethical authority for this point of view in the New Testament, which advocates that we should take no thought for tomorrow and let the dead bury their dead. There has always been something rather refreshing in the view that we should live like the birds, and perhaps posterity is for the birds in more senses than one; so perhaps we should all call it a day and go out and pollute something cheerfully. As an old taker of thought for the morrow, however, I cannot quite accept this solution; and I would argue, furthermore, that tomorrow is

not only very close, but in many respects it is already here. The shadow of the future spaceship, indeed, is already falling over our spendthrift merriment. Oddly enough, it seems to be in pollution rather than in exhaustion that the problem is first becoming salient. Los Angeles has run out of air, Lake Erie has become a cesspool, the oceans are filling up with lead and DDT, and the atmosphere may become man's major problem in another generation, at the rate at which we are filling it up with gunk. It is, of course, true that at least on a microscale, things have been worse at times in the past. The cities of today, with all their foul air and polluted waterways, are probably not as bad as the filthy cities of the pretechnical age. Nevertheless, that fouling of the nest which has been typical of man's activity in the past on a local scale now seems to be extending to the whole world society; and one certainly cannot view with equanimity the present rate of pollution of any of the natural reservoirs, whether the atmosphere, the lakes, or even the oceans.

#### NOTES

1. K. E. Boulding, "The Consumption Concept in Economic Theory," *American Economic Review*, 35 (May 1945): 1-14; and "Income or Welfare?," *Review of Economic Studies*, 17 (1949-50): 77-86.

2. Fred L. Polak, *The Image of the Future*, Vols. I and II, translated by Elise Boulding, New York: Sythoff, Leyden and Oceana, 1961.

#### ECO-CATASTROPHE!

(By Paul R. Ehrlich)

(NOTE.—In the following scenario, Dr. Paul Ehrlich predicts what our world will be like in ten years if the present course of environmental destruction is allowed to continue. Dr. Ehrlich is a prominent ecologist, a professor of biology at Stanford University, and author of *The Population Bomb* (Ballantine).)

The end of the ocean came late in the summer of 1979, and it came even more rapidly than the biologists had expected. There had been signs for more than a decade, commencing with the discovery in 1968 that DDT slows down photosynthesis in marine plant life. It was announced in a short paper in the technical journal, *Science*, but to ecologists it smacked of doomsday. They knew that all life in the sea depends on photosynthesis, the chemical process by which green plants bind the sun's energy and make it available to living things. And they knew that DDT and similar chlorinated hydrocarbons had polluted the entire surface of the earth, including the sea.

But that was only the first of many signs. There had been the final gasp of the whaling industry in 1973, and the end of the Peruvian anchovy fishery in 1975. Indeed, a score of other fisheries had disappeared quietly from overexploitation and various eco-catastrophes by 1977. The term "eco-catastrophe" was coined by a California ecologist in 1969 to describe the most spectacular of man's attacks on the systems which sustain his life. He drew his inspiration from the Santa Barbara offshore oil disaster of that year, and from the news which spread among naturalists that virtually all of the Golden State's seashore bird life was doomed because of chlorinated hydrocarbon interference with its reproduction. Eco-catastrophes in the sea became increasingly common in the early 1970's. Mysterious "blooms" of previously rare microorganisms began to appear in offshore waters. Red tides—killer outbreaks of a minute single-celled plant—returned to the Florida Gulf coast and were sometimes accompanied by tides of other exotic hues.

It was clear by 1975 that the entire ecology of the ocean was changing. A few types of phytoplankton were becoming resistant to chlorinated hydrocarbons and were gaining



the upper hand. Changes in the phytoplankton community led inevitably to changes in the community of zooplankton, the tiny animals which eat the phytoplankton. These changes were passed on up the chains of life in the ocean to the herring, plaice, cod and tuna. As the diversity of life in the ocean diminished, its stability also decreased.

Other changes had taken place by 1975. Most ocean fishes that returned to freshwater to breed, like the salmon, had become extinct, their breeding streams so damned up and polluted that their powerful homing instinct only resulted in suicide. Many fishes and shellfishes that bred in restricted areas along the coasts followed them as on-shore pollution escalated.

By 1977 the annual yield of fish from the sea was down to 30 million metric tons, less than one-half the per capita catch of a decade earlier. This helped malnutrition to escalate sharply in a world where an estimated 50 million people per year were already dying of starvation. The United Nations attempted to get all chlorinated hydrocarbon insecticides banned on a worldwide basis, but the move was defeated by the United States. This opposition was generated primarily by the American petrochemical industry, operating hand in glove with its subsidiary, the United States Department of Agriculture. Together they persuaded the government to oppose the U.N. move—which was not difficult since most Americans believed that Russia and China were more in need of fish products than was the United States. The United Nations also attempted to get fishing nations to adopt strict and enforced catch limits to preserve dwindling stocks. This move was blocked by Russia, who, with the most modern electronic equipment, was in the best position to glean what was left in the sea. It was, curiously, on the very day in 1977 when the Soviet Union announced its refusal that another ominous article appeared in *Science*. It announced that incident solar radiation had been so reduced by worldwide air pollution that serious effects on the world's vegetation could be expected.

Apparently it was a combination of ecosystem destabilization, sunlight reduction, and a rapid escalation in chlorinated hydrocarbon pollution from massive Thanodrin applications which triggered the ultimate catastrophe. Seventeen huge Soviet-financed Thanodrin plants were operating in underdeveloped countries by 1978. They had been part of a massive Russian "aid offensive" designed to fill the gap caused by the collapse of America's ballyhooed "Green Revolution."

It became apparent in the early '70s that the "Green Revolution" was more talk than substance. Distribution of high yield "miracle" grain seeds had caused temporary local spurts in agricultural production. Simultaneously, excellent weather had produced record harvests. The combination permitted bureaucrats, especially in the United States Department of Agriculture and the Agency for International Development (AID), to reverse their previous pessimism and indulge in an outburst of optimistic propaganda about staving off famine. They raved about the approaching transformation of agriculture in the underdeveloped countries (UDCs). The reason for the propaganda reversal was never made clear. Most historians agree that a combination of utter ignorance of ecology, a desire to justify past errors, and pressure from agro-industry (which was eager to sell pesticides, fertilizers, and farm machinery to the UDCs and agencies helping the UDCs) was behind the campaign. Whatever the motivation, the results were clear. Many concerned people, lacking the expertise to see through the Green Revolution drivel, relaxed. The population-food crisis was "solved."

But reality was not long in showing itself. Local famine persisted in northern India

even after good weather brought an end to the ghastly Bihar famine of the mid-'60s. East Pakistan was next, followed by a resurgence of general famine in northern India. Other foci of famine rapidly developed in Indonesia, the Philippines, Malawi, the Congo, Egypt, Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico.

Everywhere hard realities destroyed the illusion of the Green Revolution. Yields dropped as the progressive farmers who had first accepted the new seeds found that their higher yields brought lower prices—effective demand (hunger plus cash) was not sufficient in poor countries to keep prices up. Less progressive farmers, observing this, refused to make the extra effort required to cultivate the "miracle" grains. Transport systems proved inadequate to bring the necessary fertilizer to the fields where the new and extremely fertilizer-sensitive grains were being grown. The same systems were also inadequate to move produce to markets. Fertilizer plants were not built fast enough, and most of the underdeveloped countries could not scrape together funds to purchase supplies, even on concessional terms. Finally, the inevitable happened, and pests began to reduce yields in even the most carefully cultivated fields. Among the first were the famous "miracle rats" which invaded Philippine "miracle rice" fields early in 1969. They were quickly followed by many insects and viruses, thriving on the relatively pest-susceptible new grains, encouraged by the vast and dense plantings, and rapidly acquiring resistance to the chemicals used against them. As chaos spread until even the most obtuse agriculturists and economists realized that the Green Revolution had turned brown, the Russians stepped in.

In retrospect it seems incredible that the Russians, with the American mistakes known to them, could launch an even more incompetent program of aid to the underdeveloped world. Indeed, in the early 1970's there were cynics in the United States who claimed that outdoing the stupidity of American foreign aid would be physically impossible. Those critics were, however, obviously unaware that the Russians had been busily destroying their own environment for many years. The virtual disappearance of sturgeon from Russian rivers caused a great shortage of caviar by 1970. A standard joke among Russian scientists at that time was that they had created an artificial caviar which was indistinguishable from the real thing—except by taste. At any rate the Soviet Union, observing with interest the progressive deterioration of relations between the UDCs and the United States, came up with a solution. It had recently developed what it claimed was the ideal insecticide, a highly lethal chlorinated hydrocarbon complexed with a special agent for penetrating the external skeletal armor of insects. Announcing that the new pesticides, called Thanodrin, would truly produce a Green Revolution, the Soviets entered into negotiations with various UDCs for the construction of massive Thanodrin factories. The USSR would bear all the costs; all it wanted in return were certain trade and military concessions.

It is interesting now, with the perspective of years, to examine in some detail the reasons why the UDCs welcomed the Thanodrin plan with such open arms. Government officials in these countries ignored the protests of their own scientists that Thanodrin would not solve the problems which plagued them. The governments now knew that the basic cause of their problems was overpopulation, and that these problems had been exacerbated by the dullness, daydreaming, and cupidity endemic to all governments. They knew that only population control and limited development aimed primarily at agriculture could have spared them the horrors they now faced. They knew it, but they were

not about to admit it. How much easier it was simply to accuse the Americans of failing to give them proper aid; how much simpler to accept the Russian panacea.

And then there was the general worsening of relations between the United States and the UDCs. Many things had contributed to this. The situation in America in the first half of the 1970's deserves our close scrutiny. Being more dependent on imports for raw materials than the Soviet Union, the United States had, in the early 1970's, adopted more and more heavy-handed policies in order to insure continuing supplies. Military adventures in Asia and Latin America had further lessened the international credibility of the United States as a great defender of freedom—an image which had begun to deteriorate rapidly during the pointless and fruitless Viet Nam conflict. At home, acceptance of the carefully manufactured image lessened dramatically, as even the more romantic and chauvinistic citizens began to understand the role of the military and the industrial system in what John Kenneth Galbraith had aptly named "The New Industrial State."

At home in the USA the early '70s were traumatic times. Racial violence grew and the habitability of the cities diminished, as nothing substantial was done to ameliorate either racial inequities or urban blight. Welfare rolls grew as automation and general technological progress forced more and more people into the category of "unemployable." Simultaneously a taxpayers' revolt occurred. Although there was not enough money to build the schools, roads, water systems, sewage systems, jails, hospitals, urban transit lines, and all the other amenities needed to support a burgeoning population, Americans refused to tax themselves more heavily. Starting in Youngstown, Ohio, in 1969 and followed closely by Richmond, California, community after community was forced to close its schools or curtail educational operations for lack of funds. Water supplies, already marginal in quality and quantity in many places by 1970, deteriorated quickly. Water rationing occurred in 1,723 municipalities in the summer of 1974, and hepatitis and epidemic dysentery rates climbed about 500 percent between 1970 and 1974.

Air pollution continued to be the most obvious manifestation of environmental deterioration. It was, by 1972, quite literally in the eyes of all Americans. The year 1973 saw not only the New York and Los Angeles smog disasters, but also the publication of the surgeon general's massive report on air pollution and health. The public had been partially prepared for the worst by the publicity given to the U.N. pollution conference held in 1972. Deaths in the late '60s caused by smog were well known to scientists, but the public had ignored them because they mostly involved the early demise of the old and sick rather than people dropping dead on the freeways. But suddenly our citizens were faced with nearly 200,000 corpses and massive documentation that they could be the next to die from respiratory disease. They were not ready for that scale of disaster. After all, the U.N. conference had not predicted that accumulated air pollution would make the planet uninhabitable until almost 1990. The population was terrorized as TV screens became filled with scenes of horror from the disaster areas. Especially vivid was NBC's coverage of hundreds of unattended people choking out their lives outside of New York's hospitals. Terms like nitrogen oxide, acute bronchitis and cardiac arrest began to have real meaning for most Americans.

The ultimate horror was the announcement that chlorinated hydrocarbons were now a major constituent of air pollution in all American cities. Autopsies of smog disaster victims revealed an average chlorinated hydrocarbon load in fatty tissue equivalent to 26 parts per million of DDT. In October,

1973, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare announced studies which showed unequivocally that increasing death rates from hypertension, cirrhosis of the liver, liver cancer and a series of other diseases had resulted from the chlorinated hydrocarbon load. They estimated that Americans born since 1946 (when DDT usage began) now had a life expectancy of only 49 years, and predicted that if current patterns continued, this expectancy would reach 42 years by 1980, when it might level out. Plunging insurance stocks triggered a stock market panic. The president of Velsicol, Inc., a major pesticide producer, went on television to "publicly eat a teaspoonful of DDT" (it was really powdered milk) and announce that HEW had been infiltrated by Communists. Other giants of the petro-chemical industry, attempting to dispute the indisputable evidence, launched a massive pressure campaign on Congress to force HEW to "get out of agriculture's business." They were aided by the agro-chemical journals, which had decades of experience in misleading the public about the benefits and dangers of pesticides. But by now the public realized that it had been duped. The Nobel Prize for medicine and physiology was given to Drs. J. L. Radomski and W. B. Deichmann, who in the late 1960's had pioneered in the documentation of the long-term lethal effects of chlorinated hydrocarbons. A presidential commission with unimpeachable credentials directly accused the agro-chemical complex of "condemning many millions of Americans to an early death." The year 1973 was the year in which Americans finally came to understand the direct threat to their existence posed by environmental deterioration.

And 1973 was also the year in which most people finally comprehended the indirect threat. Even the president of Union Oil Company and several other industrialists publicly stated their concern over the reduction of bird populations which had resulted from pollution by DDT and other chlorinated hydrocarbons. Insect populations boomed because they were resistant to most pesticides and had been freed, by the incompetent use of those pesticides, from most of their natural enemies. Rodents swarmed over crops, multiplying rapidly in the absence of predatory birds. The effect of pests on the wheat crop was especially disastrous in the summer of 1973, since that was also the year of the great drought. Most of us can remember the shock which greeted the announcement by atmospheric physicists that the shift of the jet stream which had caused the drought was probably permanent. It signalled the birth of the Midwestern desert. Man's air-polluting activities had by then caused gross changes in climatic patterns. The news, of course, played hell with commodity and stock markets. Food prices skyrocketed, as savings were poured into hoarded canned goods. Official assurances that food supplies would remain ample fell on deaf ears, and even the government showed signs of nervousness when California migrant field workers went out on strike again in protest against the continued use of pesticides by growers. The strike burgeoned into farm burning and riots. The workers, calling themselves "The Walking Dead," demanded immediate compensation for their shortened lives, and crash research programs to attempt to lengthen them.

It was in the same speech in which President Edward Kennedy, after much delay, finally declared a national emergency and called out the National Guard to harvest California's crops, that the first mention of population control was made. Kennedy pointed out that the United States would no longer be able to offer any food aid to other nations and was likely to suffer food shortages herself. He suggested that, in view of the manifest failure of the Green Revolution, the only hope of the UDCs lay in population

control. His statement, you will recall, created an uproar in the underdeveloped countries. Newspaper editorials accused the United States of wishing to prevent small countries from becoming large nations and thus threatening American hegemony. Politicians asserted that President Kennedy was a "creature of the giant drug combine" that wished to shove its pills down every woman's throat.

Among Americans, religious opposition to population control was very slight. Industry in general also backed the idea. Increasing poverty in the UDCs was both destroying markets and threatening supplies of raw materials. The seriousness of the raw material situation had been brought home during the congressional hard resources hearings in 1971. The exposure of the ignorance of the cornucopian economists had been quite a spectacle—a spectacle brought into virtually every American's home in living color. Few would forget the distinguished geologist from the University of California who suggested that economists be legally required to learn at least the most elementary facts of geology. Fewer still would forget that an equally distinguished Harvard economist added that they might be required to learn some economics, too. The overall message was clear: America's resource situation was bad and bound to get worse. The hearings had led to a bill requiring the Departments of State, Interior, and Commerce to set up a joint resource procurement council with the express purpose of "insuring that proper consideration of American resource needs be an integral part of American foreign policy."

Suddenly the United States discovered that it had a national consensus: population control was the only possible salvation of the underdeveloped world. But that same consensus led to heated debate. How could the UDCs be persuaded to limit their populations, and should not the United States lead the way by limiting its own? Members of the intellectual community wanted America to set an example. They pointed out that the United States was in the midst of a new baby boom: her birth rate, well over 20 per thousand per year, and her growth rate of over one percent per annum were among the very highest of the developed countries. They detailed the deterioration of the American physical and psychic environments, the growing health threats, the impending food shortages, and the insufficiency of funds for desperately needed public works. They contended that the nation was clearly unable or unwilling to properly care for the people it already had. What possible reason could there be, they queried, for adding any more? Besides, who would listen to requests by the United States for population control when that nation did not control her own profligate reproduction?

Those who opposed population controls for the U.S. were equally vociferous. The military-industrial complex, with its all-too-human mixture of ignorance and avarice, also saw strength and prosperity in numbers. Baby food magnates, already worried by the growing nitrate pollution of their products, saw their market disappearing. Steel manufacturers saw a decrease in aggregate demand and slippage for that holy of holies, the Gross National Product. And military men saw, in the growing population-food-environment crisis, a serious threat to their carefully nurtured Cold War. In the end, of course, economic arguments held sway, and the "inalienable right of every American couple to determine the size of its family," a freedom invented for the occasion in the early '70s, was not compromised.

The population control bill, which was passed by Congress early in 1974, was quite a document, nevertheless. On the domestic front, it authorized an increase from 100 to 150 million dollars in funds for "family planning" activities. This was made possible by a general feeling in the country that the

growing army on welfare needed family planning. But the gist of the bill was a series of measures designed to impress the need for population control on the UDCs. All American aid to countries with overpopulation problems was required by law to consist in part of population control assistance. In order to receive any assistance each nation was required not only to accept the population control aid, but also to match it according to a complex formula. "Overpopulation" itself was defined by a formula based on U.N. statistics, and the UDCs were required not only to accept aid, but also to show progress in reducing birth rates. Every five years the status of the aid program for each nation was to be re-evaluated.

The reaction to the announcement of this program dwarfed the response to President Kennedy's speech. A coalition of UDCs attempted to get the U.N. General Assembly to condemn the United States as a "genetic aggressor." Most damaging of all to the American cause was the famous "25 Indians and a dog" speech by Mr. Shankarnarayan, Indian Ambassador to the U.N. Shankarnarayan pointed out that for several decades the United States, with less than six percent of the people of the world, had consumed roughly 50 percent of the raw materials used every year. He described vividly America's contribution to worldwide environmental deterioration, and he scathingly denounced the miserly record of United States foreign aid as "unworthy of a fourth-rate power, let alone the most powerful nation on earth."

It was the climax of his speech, however, which most historians claim once and for all destroyed the image of the United States. Shankarnarayan informed the assembly that the average American family dog was fed more animal protein per week than the average Indian got in a month. "How do you justify taking fish from protein-starved Peruvians and feeding them to your animals?" he asked. "I contend," he concluded, "that the birth of an American baby is a greater disaster for the world than that of 25 Indian babies." When the applause had died away, Mr. Sorensen, the American representative, made a speech which said essentially that "other countries look after their own self-interest, too." When the vote came, the United States was condemned.

This condemnation set the tone of U.S.-UDC relations at the time the Russian Thanodrin proposal was made. The proposal seemed to offer the masses in the UDCs an opportunity to save themselves and humiliate the United States at the same time; and in human affairs, as we all know, biological realities could never interfere with such an opportunity. The scientists were silenced, the politicians said yes, the Thanodrin plants were built, and the results were what any beginning ecology student could have predicted. At first Thanodrin seemed to offer excellent control of many pests. True, there was a rash of human fatalities from improper use of the lethal chemical, but, as Russian technical advisors were prone to note, these were more than compensated for by increased yields. Thanodrin use skyrocketed throughout the underdeveloped world. The Mikoyan design group developed a dependable, cheap agricultural aircraft which the Soviets donated to the effort in large numbers, MIG sprayers became even more common in UDCs than MIG interceptors.

Then the troubles began. Insect strains with cuticles resistant to Thanodrin penetration began to appear. And as streams, rivers, fish culture ponds and onshore waters became rich in Thanodrin, more fisheries began to disappear. Bird populations were decimated. The sequence of events was standard for broadcast use of a synthetic pesticide: great success at first, followed by removal of natural enemies and development of resistance by the pest. Populations



of crop-eating insects in areas treated with Thanodrin made steady comebacks and soon became more abundant than ever. Yields plunged, while farmers in their desperation increased the Thanodrin dose and shortened the time between treatments. Death from Thanodrin poisoning became common. The first violent incident occurred in the Canete Valley of Peru, where farmers had suffered a similar chlorinated hydrocarbon disaster in the mid-50's. A Russian advisor serving as an agricultural pilot was assaulted and killed by a mob of enraged farmers in January, 1978. Trouble spread rapidly during 1978, especially after the word got out that two years earlier Russia herself had banned the use of Thanodrin at home because of its serious effects on ecological systems. Suddenly Russia, and not the United States was the *bête noir* in the UDCs. "Thanodrin parties" became epidemic, with farmers, in their ignorance, dumping carloads of Thanodrin concentrate into the sea. Russian advisors fled, and four of the Thanodrin plants were leveled to the ground. Destruction of the plants in Rio and Calcutta led to hundreds of thousands of gallons of Thanodrin concentrate being dumped directly into the sea.

Mr. Shankarnarayan again rose to address the U.N., but this time it was Mr. Potemkin, representative of the Soviet Union, who was on the hot seat. Mr. Potemkin heard his nation described as the greatest mass killer of all time as Shankarnarayan predicted at least 30 million deaths from crop failures due to overdependence on Thanodrin. Russia was accused of "chemical aggression," and the General Assembly, after a weak reply by Potemkin, passed a vote of censure.

It was in January, 1979, that huge blooms of a previously unknown variety of diatom were reported off the coast of Peru. The blooms were accompanied by a massive die-off of sea life and of the pathetic remainder of the birds which had once feasted on the anchovies of the area. Almost immediately another huge bloom was reported in the Indian Ocean, centering around the Seychelles, and then a third in the South Atlantic off the African coast. Both of these were accompanied by spectacular die-offs of marine animals. Even more ominous were growing reports of fish and bird kills at oceanic points where there were no spectacular blooms. Biologists were soon able to explain the phenomenon: the diatom had evolved an enzyme which broke down Thanodrin; that enzyme also produced a breakdown product which interfered with the transmission of nerve impulses, and was therefore lethal to animals. Unfortunately, the biologists could suggest no way of repressing the poisonous diatom bloom in time. By September, 1979, all important animal life in the sea was extinct. Large areas of coastline had to be evacuated, as windrows of dead fish created a monumental stench.

But stench was the least of man's problems. Japan and China were faced with almost instant starvation from a total loss of the seafood on which they were so dependent. Both blamed Russia for their situation and demanded immediate mass shipments of food. Russia had none to send. On October 13 Chinese armies attacked Russia on a broad front...

A pretty grim scenario. Unfortunately, we're a long way into it already. Everything mentioned as happening before 1970 has actually occurred; much of the rest is based on projections of trends already appearing. Evidence that pesticides have long-term lethal effects on human beings has started to accumulate, and recently Robert Finch, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, expressed his extreme apprehension about the pesticide situation. Simultaneously the petrochemical industry continues its unconscionable poison-peddling. For instance, Shell Chemical has been carrying on a high-pressure campaign to sell

the insecticide Azodrin to farmers as a killer of cotton pests. They continue their program even though they know that Azodrin is not only ineffective, but often *increases* the pest density. They've covered themselves nicely in an advertisement which states, "Even if an overpowering migration [sic] develops, the flexibility of Azodrin lets you regain control fast. Just increase the dosage according to label recommendations." It's a great game—get people to apply the poison and kill the natural enemies of the pests. Then blame the increased pests on "migration" and sell even more pesticide!

Right now fisheries are being wiped out by overexploitation, made easy by modern electronic equipment. The companies producing the equipment know this. They even boast in advertising that only their equipment will keep fishermen in business until the final kill. Profits must obviously be maximized in the short run. Indeed, Western society is in the process of completing the rape and murder of the planet for economic gain. And, sadly, most of the rest of the world is eager for the opportunity to emulate our behavior. But the underdeveloped peoples will be denied that opportunity—the days of plunder are drawing inexorably to a close.

Most of the people who are going to die in the greatest cataclysm in the history of man have already been born. More than three and a half billion people already populate our moribund globe, and about half of them are hungry. Some 10 to 20 million will starve to death *this year*. In spite of this, the population of the earth will have increased by 70 million in 1969. For mankind has artificially lowered the death rate of the human population, while in general, birth rates have remained high. With the input side of the population system in high gear and the output side slowed down, our fragile planet has filled with people at an incredible rate. It took several million years for the population to reach a total of two billion people in 1930, while a *second two billion will have been added by 1975!* By that time some experts feel that food shortages will have escalated the present level of world hunger and starvation into famines of unbelievable proportions. Other experts, more optimistic, think the ultimate food-population collision will not occur until the decade of the 1980's. Of course more massive famine may be avoided if other events cause a prior rise in the human death rate.

Both worldwide plague and thermonuclear war are made more probable as population growth continues. These, along with famine, make up the trio of potential "death rate solutions" to the population problem—solutions in which the birth rate-death rate imbalance is redressed by a rise in the death rate rather than by a lowering of the birth rate. Make no mistake about it, the *imbalance will be redressed*. The shape of the population-growth curve is one familiar to the biologist. It is the outbreak part of an outbreak-crash sequence. A population grows rapidly in the presence of abundant resources, finally runs out of food or some other necessity, and crashes to a low level or extinction. Man is not only running out of food, he is also destroying the life support systems of the Spaceship Earth. The situation was recently summarized very succinctly: "It is the top of the ninth inning. Man, always a threat at the plate, has been hitting nature hard. It is important to remember, however, that nature bats last."

#### RECYCLING

(By Garrett De Bell)

America has been described as a nation knee-deep in garbage, firing rockets to the moon. This phrase aptly points out the misguided priorities of the American government as well as the magnitude of the solid-waste crisis. Many solutions to the solid-waste, or trash, problem have been pro-

posed—sanitary land fill, dumping waste into old mines, compressing it into building blocks, incineration, and dumping at sea. Even the best of these methods waste materials. The principle of recycling is to regard wastes as raw materials to be utilized; this is the only ecologically sensible long term solution to the solid-waste problem.

Recycling is a major part of the solution of many environmental problems. It is important to air and water pollution and to wilderness preservation. The environmental crisis has come into the public consciousness so recently that the word "recycle" doesn't even appear in most dictionaries. The core of its meaning is that resources be used over and over again and cycled through human economic-production systems in a way that is analogous to the cycles of elements (carbon, nitrogen, phosphorus, etc.) in natural eco-systems. This is directly contrary to the present produce and discard production system with its one-way flow of materials from the mine or farm through the household and into the garbage dumps, air, and water.

The benefits of reuse of materials (recycling) in our overcrowded world are obvious. Each ton of paper, aluminum, or iron reclaimed from waste is a ton less needed from our forests and mines, and a ton less solid waste in our environment. Recycling of many important materials is now technically feasible and major corporations are devoting some attention to it.

Aluminum is very easy to recycle because it needs only be melted down for reuse. Because of aluminum's very high value, large-scale recycling operations are now feasible. Currently, scrap aluminum brings \$200 per ton where scrap newspaper brings only \$5 per ton. Reynolds Aluminum has been running ads stressing its interest in recycling aluminum cans; plants to accept used cans for recycling are now being built.

Paper and cardboard can also be recycled. Remember the paper drives of past years? The price is now so low that scrap paper is not economical to reuse unless it is delivered to the mill in large quantities by very cheap labor. But demands on our forests have become so great that there is now pressure for more intense management of timber to increase annual production. Those of us who prefer wilderness and maximum areas of unmanaged forests would prefer that the demand for timber be reduced by increasing the percentage that is recycled. Current research on improving the techniques is being done by U.S. Forest Products Laboratories. More recycling of paper means less pressure for increased cutting in the forests.

At present, however, the reuse or recycling of solid wastes is not economically feasible for most materials. Since it is ecologically necessary to start recycling our solid wastes, our approach is to find ways to make recycling economical.

Suitable legislation can go a long way toward doing this. At the state or federal level, legislation should incorporate the cost of disposal of each product in its price in the form of a tax. By giving a competitive advantage to products with a lower tax, this tax would encourage the use of simple biodegradable or easily recycled containers, such as those made out of paper, cardboard, and aluminum, and also reusable bottles and containers. It would discourage the use of plastic containers of types that cannot be recycled and of containers made of a mix of materials that are very difficult or impossible to recycle, such as paper and plastic laminated together or foil-covered cardboard.

The tax can be collected either at the factory or at time of purchase depending on the circumstances. The revenues gained from this tax would go into a fund to subsidize recycling of products. The amount of tax would be determined by the subsidy needed to make recycling economically feasible. For example, aluminum, being economically re-

recyclable, would require no subsidy. Paper, if its recycling required a two-cent-per-pound subsidy, would carry a two-cent tax. Products that could not be recycled at all would carry a tax equal to the full direct and social costs of ultimate disposal after use.

To properly recycle our wastes will require an industry perhaps as large as the present automobile industry. Recycling-plants can provide people with socially useful jobs, increase the resource base, and improve the quality of life for everyone.

There are two major barriers to recycling wastes. The first is the problem of transporting the wastes to the site of the recycling. This is an economic problem which the subsidy will solve. The second is getting wastes sorted. The subsidy can be high enough to pay for this, or each city might establish a dual set of garbage rates, which people could choose between freely. One rate would be for unsorted garbage. The other rate would be for garbage separated into organic wastes, glass, and metal, and into plastic, paper, and cardboard. The difference in the two rates would simply be the cost to the municipality of sorting the garbage. There may be objection to having to sort or pay, but it is time to realize that this is one of the costs we have to pay for a decent environment.

This legislation represents a specific application of the economic theory of externalities. Instead of the usual practice of including only the cost of production in the price of a product, we also include any additional social cost—such as the cost in environmental deterioration—in the price of the product. This removes the incentive to industries to follow practices which save them money in the short run but produce environmental destruction in the long run.

#### WHAT INDIVIDUALS CAN DO TO PROMOTE RECYCLING

Supermarkets should be made to minimize packaging and or use returnable, reusable containers. You can bring pressure on your supermarket. On the day of the Environmental Teach-In get everyone in your neighborhood to return packaging and containers accumulated from purchases over the preceding week to the supermarket and make it their problem to dispose of them. To make this demonstration even more effective, make arrangements with scrap dealers handling paper, aluminum, glass, ferrous metals, and other materials to pick up the accumulated trash and recycle it. This would demonstrate both the magnitude of the solid waste crisis and the possibility of recycling wastes.

Don't accept hangers from laundries. Take your clothes off the hanger and leave them. If you accumulate hangers at home, take them back to the cleaners. Boycott laundries that won't reuse hangers. Follow the same practice with other products that are generally used once and thrown away, but could be reused many times. Don't buy products that come in unrecusable containers.

#### COMPOSTING

Recycle your own vegetable wastes by starting a compost pile. All kinds of vegetable matter—everything from coffee grounds and banana peels to dead leaves, straw and sawdust—can be mixed together, piled up, and left for a couple of months to decompose to make a fine soil conditioner and fertilizer for your garden. Any vegetable wastes from your kitchen are good for composting, but don't use bones or other animal wastes, as they may attract rodents. Eggshells, seaweed, and ashes are good, but not in large quantities, as they may add too much salt or alkalinity. Don't use eucalyptus leaves. Sheep, horse, or cow manure, or small amounts of chicken manure, make an excellent addition.

"Turn" or move your pile every couple of weeks, or when it is getting too hot in the center. Take the top part of the pile and put

it on the bottom, then put the bottom part on top. This prevents spontaneous combustion from starting as the result of the accumulated heat of decomposition in the center of the pile, and also helps the compost to decompose evenly. Keep the pile covered with dirt to prevent any odor. Some dirt mixed into the organic material helps it to decompose, since it contains decomposing bacteria. The compost will "work" faster if it is kept damp.

When your pile is big enough—maybe three to six feet high—stop adding to it (start a second pile), continue turning it when necessary, and wait until it is well decomposed and is no longer noticeably warm in the center. Then it is ready to use as a soil conditioner, fertilizer, or mulch in your garden.

#### BEYOND THE RECYCLE PRINCIPLE

Normally the recycling concept means reuse of materials. Additional steps outside this concept can be taken to reduce the rates of solid-waste production and resource depletion. In general, both legislation and citizens in their private lives can stress maintenance and repair of existing products rather than planned obsolescence. This will create less jobs on the assembly line, but more jobs for repairmen and renovators.

#### PFC. MICHAEL J. RANDOLPH, 20, KILLED IN VIETNAM ACTION

#### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Michael J. Randolph, a fine young man from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I would like to commend his courage and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

#### PFC. MICHAEL J. RANDOLPH, 20, KILLED IN VIETNAM ACTION

"I know I'm killing, and I know I've been taught it's the wrong thing to do, but if I want to come home, I've got to kill them before they kill me."

So wrote Pfc. Michael J. Randolph, 20, from Vietnam in a recent letter to his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert J. Randolph of Cumberland. The Defense Department announced yesterday that Private Randolph was killed in action March 29 during an encounter with enemy forces along the Ho Chi Minh trail.

#### DIDN'T WANT TO GO

"He didn't want to go, but he went because he knew it was his duty," Mrs. Randolph said of her son yesterday. "He knew the way a lot of kids are doing it today wasn't the way to get out of it."

Private Randolph was drafted into the Army last August, only two months after he graduated from Alleghany High School in Cumberland, where he had lived all his life.

#### LIKED MANUAL LABOR

Private Randolph worked at Sears Roebuck as a maintenance man during the brief period after his graduation until he was drafted. "He loved to work with his hands," Mrs. Randolph recalled.

In addition to his parents, Private Randolph is survived by a brother, William M. Randolph; a sister, Cherie Lee Randolph, both of Cumberland; and two step-sisters, Mrs. George Sullivan and Mrs. Robbie Carr, both of Memphis.

#### NO TRIAL TOO MUCH FOR REPORTER WHO CARES

#### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, throughout our careers in public service some of us met people who deeply impress us because of their intelligence, knowledge, integrity, ability, and friendliness.

However, it is seldom that we can give to them the public recognition that they so richly deserve. Thus, it is with great feeling and pride that I today place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a feature story from the Record of Hackensack, N.J., on the retirement of Mr. William McHenry after more than four decades of service as a newspaperman.

Mr. McHenry is one of those rare people who possess all of the attributes that I have set forth and his departure from his newspaper beat will leave a large void in the hearts and minds of those who were fortunate enough to know him and work with him.

The widespread sharing of my views and sentiments is well explained in the Record article, which follows, written by Mr. Edward J. Flynn, who served part of his newspaper apprenticeship under the guidance of Bill McHenry:

NO TRIAL TOO MUCH FOR REPORTER WHO CARES

(By Edward J. Flynn)

After more than four decades as a journalist, William McHenry is saying goodbye to the Bergen County Courthouse where he covered every major trial during the past 16 years.

Bill McHenry, who is affectionately called The Judge by younger colleagues, is writing "30" (the newsman's symbol to the end of a story) to a distinguished career at four newspapers, including 21 years at The Record.

He retires tomorrow, and takes with him memories of having covered some of the Garden State's biggest stories.

Yet, it was his coverage of the daily—often routine—courthouse news that earned him the respect and admiration of the legal profession, lawmakers, court personnel and fellow reporters.

Says Superior Court Assignment Judge Morris Fashman:

"Bill McHenry has labored long and honorably . . . he has a solid sense of ethics and integrity."

"He was always a great listener and a sharp distiller of the facts. He deserves a well-earned retirement. I am proud to have known him as a newspaperman."

#### HAD LAW DEGREE

McHenry brought to the courthouse more than a newsman's simple knowledge of the law. After attending New York University and Antioch College in Ohio, he earned a law degree from John Marshall College of Law in Jersey City.

His legal background enabled him to ask penetrating questions and cut through legal proceedings to get to the crux of the issues.

His hallmark was his respect for the law and the confidences he merited from lawyers and judges.

"I always found him a gentleman and persistent in his quest for news," comments J. Wallace Leyden, former Superior Court assignment court judge. "He always kept his word with me and wrote accurately."



John J. Breslin Jr., civil attorney and a former county prosecutor adds:

"He is a truly representative newspaperman. Bill had a great ability to ferret out facts most reporters didn't."

"Many times he received secrets and promised not to print them until the time came. You could tell Bill anything, and rest assured it would not be used until the proper time."

Comments County Court Judge Arthur J. O'Dea, who presided over many of the county's most publicized trials which McHenry covered:

"Bill McHenry blazed a trail in courthouse reporting that set a standard in reliability and integrity that earned for him the respect and confidence of the courts."

"... Bill had as much concern for those he was exposing through the press as he had for the story he was assigned to cover. In a word, Bill McHenry was a reporter and a gentleman—all wrapped in one."

McHenry was noted for his boundless energy which belied his average height and stocky frame. Young reporters assigned as his assistant could barely keep up with McHenry on his courthouse rounds.

As a teen-ager, McHenry was captain of the Union Hill tennis team and a member of the Hoboken Tennis Club, and later played for the Antioch College team.

Through the years, he retained his agility and energy. In past years, in addition to covering the courthouse, he reported on county government, politics, and often worked all night following detectives from the Prosecutor's Office on major investigations.

#### FIRST AT SANDPIT

McHenry was the first reporter for example, to arrive at the Mahwah sandpit on March 5, 1957 where Victoria Zielinski lay bludgeoned to death.

He pursued the story writing in-depth accounts of the murder investigation and subsequent arrest of Edgar H. Smith. McHenry wrote in detail on the 12-day trial and the first-degree murder conviction which the jury returned in less than two hours.

When the verdict came in McHenry actually scooped himself. With few phones available in the old courthouse and a battery of reporters covering the trial, McHenry was unable to get an open line to his office.

Somehow the Associated Press managed to get a call into the courthouse and McHenry dutifully gave the AP the account of Smith's conviction.

When he finally got his call through to The Record cityroom, McHenry's own story was coming over the AP teletype.

Commenting on McHenry's tenure as a courthouse reporter, John E. Selser, who was Smith's trial attorney, says unequivocally of McHenry:

"There is none better. I have the highest regard and respect for Bill. He is a tremendously good newsman."

Selser recalls that McHenry helped him before the trial by pointing out the exact spot where the girl's body was found, and that he later called McHenry as a defense witness to describe the scene.

McHenry has covered many of the appeal hearings on behalf of Smith, who has now spent more time on Death Row than any other convicted murderer.

Even while the Smith trial was in progress, McHenry helped cover another murder of a Bergen County high school girl. For his week-end coverage of the rape-slaying of Ruth Starr Zeitler of Fair Lawn, The Record received a citation from The Associated Press.

Another AP citation won by The Record came from McHenry's coverage of a 1955 plot to kill Paul Hall, a union official from Montvale.

Another trial which drew state and na-

tional attention and which McHenry covered was the 1960 acquittal of Harold John Adonis, a former state house clerk who had been charged with conspiracy concerning acceptance of payoffs during the gambling scandals which rocked the county in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Today, McHenry is just about as familiar around the courthouse as is the building's dome. Exiting from a courtroom, he might be found taking a moment on a corridor bench to go over notes in the familiar spiral-bound notebook which he stuffs in a coat pocket.

#### GROSS PRAISES HIM

While jotting down a courtroom observation or a point which might need clarification, McHenry could be interrupted by a person seeking directions to a county office or a courtroom or by a friendly attorney with a question or possible news tip.

No matter how pressed, McHenry agreeably finds time for them.

Courtroom lawyers, particularly the younger ones, often would seek him out for advice or legal suggestion.

Predicts Nelson G. Gross, 38-year-old Republican state chairman and a practicing attorney:

"Bill McHenry's retirement will create a tremendous void for courthouse lawyers. The era of good, free advice is at an end. Bill will certainly be missed."

Says noted criminal attorney Benedict E. Lucchi:

"He's a reporter of his word, and he has the admiration of all lawyers."

Adds Joseph Guez, "When I first started out until this day, Bill has been very good to me."

The average residents of Bergen County who has business at the county seat will miss McHenry. Often people would walk into the pressroom and would confront him with problems that brought them to Hackensack. Not infrequently, McHenry would make a phone call, attempting to cut through red tape to help a worried visitor.

Recalls former Bergen Freeholder Mrs. Bernice W. Alexander:

"I always found him to be interested not only in the news, but in other people. He had a feeling for people and took an interest in their problems."

A few years ago, Bill McHenry was a worried father. He received word that his eldest son, William D., a Marine corporal, had been wounded in action in Vietnam. Young McHenry returned home and underwent a series of operations on a shattered arm.

It was not until the announcement came from Washington that young McHenry was to receive the Navy Cross that McHenry learned of his son's bravery on the battlefield. The citation recounted how the youngster took command of an ambushed patrol, directed fire, and assisted in evacuating the wounded.

Later, young McHenry was wounded, but continued to fire a weapon with one arm, while ordering his men to evacuate and leave him behind. They finally had to drag him from the field.

The elder McHenry has four other children (two are married), and lives with his wife, the former Margaret R. Hession and three children at 127 DeBaun Ave., Ramsey.

As a youth, McHenry traveled extensively. He received his elementary education in Toronto, and the U.S. Canal Zone in Panama where his father was employed as a civilian engineer with the Army's Panama Canal construction.

McHenry's first newspaper job was with The Springfield News in Springfield, Ohio, while a student at Antioch College. He covered city hall and was a police reporter. Between 1927 and '28, he was assistant sports editor of the Springfield Sun.

He joined The Jersey Journal in 1929, where he was a rewriter and special assignment and legislative reporter. From 1939 until 1947, he was assistant city editor.

McHenry joined The Record in 1948 as assistant to the city editor and feature editor. He left briefly in 1952 to take a post as an account executive for a New York public relations company.

He returned to The Record the following year and in 1954 became the courthouse reporter.

McHenry has had numerous part-time positions, including one as public relations director and hearing spokesman for the Ramapo-Pompton River Protection Association, which appeared before the N.J. State Water Policy Commission in opposition to a river dam.

Summing up the sentiment at the courthouse, Douglas B. Allison, chief clerk of the general county courts, observed:

"... In all the years I have known him, he has never to my knowledge lost his calm, and has been patient with the clerks and court personnel in getting to the meat of his stories."

"He has always been highly regarded and must always be thought of first when we think of members of the press. We will all miss Bill McHenry around the courts and corridors, but we all hope that his retirement will be healthy, happy, and long."

#### GLOBE TOOL NOMINATED FOR OUTSTANDING FIRM AWARD

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to advise the Members of this body that the Globe Tool & Gage Works, Inc., located in the Avon Industrial Park, Avon, Mass., which I have the great pleasure to represent, has been nominated as an area candidate for "National Subcontractor of the Year." This is an honor that recognizes outstanding contribution and service to the Nation's civilian and defense needs.

I insert in the RECORD at this time a press clipping from the April 1 edition of the Brockton Enterprise:

#### GLOBE TOOL NOMINATED FOR OUTSTANDING FIRM AWARD

AVON.—Globe Tool and Gage Works, Inc., located in the Avon Industrial Park, has been notified by the United States Small Business Administration that Globe Tool has been nominated as an area candidate for "National Subcontractor of the Year." A certificate has been presented which states that it is in recognition of outstanding contribution and service to the nation's civilian and defense needs.

Thomas J. Noonan area administrator of the Northeastern Area, has written Anton Effgen, Sr., president, that the firm was selected as one of the outstanding small business manufacturers in the area. "Your superior performance as a subcontractor has been recognized by a major government prime contractor who recommended that your firm be considered as the 'Small Business Subcontractor of the Year.'"

The final selection will be made by a panel of judges composed of industry and government procurement officials in Washington during Small Business Week. A public announcement will be made at that time.

THE SUPERSONIC "BOONDOGGLE"

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the respected conservative columnist James J. Kilpatrick turned his attention to the supersonic transport—SST—this week. His conclusion? For the taxpayers to invest another \$290 million in this venture—the amount asked this year—"would be throwing good money after bad boondoggles." Mr. Kilpatrick's analysis is an excellent one and I commend it to my colleagues. The column appeared on April 7 in the Baltimore Sun:

THE SUPERSONIC "BOONDOGGLE"

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

WASHINGTON.—John A. Volpe, Secretary of Transportation, speaking for the President last week, renewed the administration's appeal for funds to continue work on the supersonic transport plane.

The appeal contained at least a demi-semi-quaver of desperation. "The aviation industry is essential to our nation," Mr. Volpe said. If the SST should be dropped, "then in six or seven years you would have tens of thousands of employees laid off and an aviation industry that would go to pot."

Mr. Volpe also renewed a number of other arguments in support of the SST: Its sale would help our balance of payments. A successful SST would boost American prestige. And as for the problem of the plane's sonic boom, there would be no problem: The plane would never be permitted to fly at supersonic speeds over land. He concluded by contending that if the U.S. falls in the supersonic field, France, England and Russia will pick up the marbles.

A more specious line of reasoning seldom has been assembled. For the taxpayers to invest another \$290 million in this venture—and that is the sum to be asked this week—would be a throwing of good money after bad boondoggles. Do we learn nothing from such wretched experiences as the military F-111? Do we ever examine all the implications of "progress"?

The SST does not represent a change in kind, in the fashion of jet planes replacing prop jobs. It is only a change in degree: It will fly faster than one of the new 747's. That is the sole advantage claimed for it. Except for speed, the SST offers not a single advantage in range, comfort, passenger volume, profits, safety, ease of handling—none of these. And unlike the 747, which the industry developed at its own expense, the SST would cost the taxpayers a fortune in subsidies unlikely ever to be recouped.

Who needs the SST? Well, the Boeing Company, out in Seattle, needs the SST. But surely, with deference to the great State of Washington, something more than this is required. Who else needs the SST?

Not the traveling public. Relatively speaking, only a handful of passenger could be expected to pay the super charges that would be required to make the SST a profitable operation. In theory, an SST flying flawlessly on schedule could carry 100,000 passengers a year; allowing for realistic factors of down time and normal loads, the number is probably half that.

Not the people down below. Let us take with great grains of salt the promise that the SST would "never" be permitted to fly over the U.S. mainland. At less than supersonic speeds, the SST is a dead loss; it offers no advantages whatever. But when it flies beyond the speed of sound, the plane leaves a destructive path of sonic booms behind.

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Before a House Appropriations subcommittee grants the requested sum, it should study recent reports, notably from France, on the damage this phenomenon causes.

It becomes increasingly doubtful that even the airline industry needs the SST. The latest cost projection put the cost of each supersonic transport at \$60 million. How do you recoup that capital investment? Pan American, our largest airline, is beginning to wonder.

In February, *Aviation Daily and Business Week* reported some highly pessimistic observations by Pan Am's president, Najeib Halaby. The British-French Concorde, he remarked, may wind up with only 112 comfortable seats. Its tube-like cabin will seem cramped and narrow to passengers grown accustomed to the airborne living rooms of the 747. High costs per seat mile indicate poor profits; and if there is one thing Pan Am does not need, it is a new plane with a poor profitability picture.

Let us pause. The overriding question, here in many other areas of our civilized society, is the extent to which man will let himself be victimized by his own machines. A needless surrender of values to speed and noise is not progress. It is a needless surrender.

CONGRATULATIONS TO WCBS-TV

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, the television media have performed outstanding services to the country by bringing into the living rooms of the Nation, through their news and documentary shows, events which, while described in the press, are really only brought home dramatically through that television tube. In the State of New York, one of the outstanding television stations is WCBS-TV. Recently, the news division of WCBS, headed by Lee Hanna, did a documentary called "Guess Who's Coming to Great Neck." It was an extraordinary film and had great impact on those of us who watched it.

One of the most important journalistic awards, namely the George Polk Memorial Award granted for outstanding achievement in journalism in 1969, was awarded to Lee Hanna in recognition of his role in making WCBS-TV news policy and for his encouragement which was essential to producing this particular documentary. Comparable commendations were given both to Robert Markowitz, the producer, and Steven Seligman, film editor, who were directly responsible for executing the documentary.

The documentary was broadcast in prime time on February 11, 1969. It examined in detail what happened in one of our affluent suburbs which has always had an outstanding liberal tradition when the people living there came face to face with a civil rights controversy not in the abstract but in their own midst. The issue they faced was a proposal to bus some 45 to 60 black children from Queens to Great Neck schools.

The people of that community, in my judgment, failed that test. However, irrespective of how one might feel on the merits of the issue, all of us, I am sure,

who saw the program would agree that WCBS treated it sensitively and factually. There are undoubtedly still "vast wastelands" in the television media but WCBS has established time and time again its courage and ability by bringing to the attention of the public matters of substance and importance in such a way as to attract the interest of a too often apathetic public.

I congratulate the station and the members of its staff.

MARCH FOR VICTORY—THE SILENT MAJORITY SPEAKS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday I had the privilege of participating in the March for Victory here in Washington. This is a movement which has the broadest possible base—the American people—and which can go nowhere but forward, as it is a positive program, not a negative one. It is purely American in all respects.

Due to pressing business many of our colleagues were not able to attend or participate in this event, and I include in my remarks for their benefit the remarks which I made on that occasion, as well as the statement of Rev. Dr. Carl McIntire, and resolutions adopted on the occasion.

REMARKS OF HON. JOHN R. RARICK

My fellow Americans: We are assembled in our Nation's capitol today to see that something is done about Viet Nam.

Although we are certain to be called "hawks" and even "warmongers"—the standard Communist jargon for anyone actively opposing Red demands—we are here to take the first steps toward peace in Viet Nam. We seek peace the American way—Peace through Victory.

We Americans have been told that we have only two alternatives in Viet Nam—either a panic defeat called "unilateral withdrawal" or a programmed defeat called "Vietnamization."

When the House of Representatives recently voted on a resolution support the Administration's "Vietnamization" of the war, we were told that these were the only choices—either support the President, or cut and run. Since I strongly believe in a third alternative—Victory—I could support neither of the plans for defeat proposed. I abstained. I voted "Present." That was all.

I believe in Peace through Victory—and that is why I am standing with you here today.

We Americans have been told time and time again that it is impossible to win the war in Viet Nam. We have been told this by the Chinese Communists, who call the United States a "paper tiger." We have been told this by Hanoi in its propaganda broadcasts—and more importantly, in its psychological warfare tracts and broadcasts aimed at American fighting men in combat in Viet Nam. We have been told by the home grown variety of radicals, subversives, and limousine liberals that military victory is impossible—"a myth, an intellectual superstition"—that the United States cannot win this war.

And now we have been told by the Nixon Administration, elected largely on a prom-



ise to end the war in Viet Nam, that we do not intend to win—that we do not seek military victory. There can be no greater repression of a loyal, obedient people.

Let's understand one thing about war plainly. There is no prize for the runner-up. There is no second place. Nations at war either win or they lose—and if they do not win, they lose. General MacArthur correctly warned us that when a great nation goes to war and stops short of complete victory—it ceases to be a great nation. We made this mistake in Korea—and our "no-win" war in Korea led us directly into another "no-win" war in Viet Nam.

Let's tell the American people the truth about the military situation in Viet Nam. More than forty senior, respected military leaders—admirals and generals from all of the services—have publicly declared that the war in Viet Nam would be won in only six to eight weeks—with conventional weapons—and far less loss of life—if only the hands of our fighting men were untied. Baby doctors are trained on infant problems; university professors to teach; ministers are ordained to preach; our military men are trained to solve wars by ending them as soon as possible.

Why do we not listen to the professionals whose business is to get us out of wars, rather than to the blunderers who got us into this one in the first place?

Before his election, President Nixon was an advocate of this position. He wrote and signed a widely published article in which he not only called for military victory in Viet Nam, but for the conquest and occupation of North Viet Nam. But then something apparently happened to him on his way to the White House.

Winning is an American characteristic, whether in baseball, football, basketball, space exploration—or in meeting and overcoming any challenges to free men. It is not surprising that we Americans, accustomed to victory, have won every one of America's wars—that is, every one which we intended to win.

The Korean War—which we did not even dare to call a war—was a United Nations project. It was a war which we did not win—not because we could not win, but because American fighting men were not permitted to defeat the enemy.

The Viet Nam War is but another United Nations project—a war which we are not permitted to win by defeating the enemy and bringing peace to that unhappy land. We are not even permitted to isolate the battlefield. We are only expected to continue pouring men and money endlessly into Southeast Asia, bleeding our people endlessly for the benefit of the real enemy—the Soviet.

Until the great American majority makes its voice heard—and today is the first step in doing just that—Americans will continue to die in Viet Nam. While the diplomats and the pseudo-intellectuals chatter, Americans die. This is not right.

Positive thinking produces positive results—especially in an election year. When the American people let it be known that they have had enough of this exploitation—when the American people demand military victory over the enemy—when the American people insist on a pro-American foreign policy—then we will see an American victory, in the tradition of our fathers.

The American people are known throughout the world as winners. When the United States undertakes a task, it sees it through. A people with the intelligence, the skills, the financial resources and the organizational ability to place astronauts on the moon—not once, but repeatedly—is surely capable of achieving military victory over a minor, backward, disorganized, fourth-rate Oriental dictatorship. When the United States

fails to win such a war, it is because—and only because—someone has decided not to win it. Someone has decided to lose.

This March for Victory is being held in the proper place. The War in Viet Nam is being fought, and will be won or lost, right here in Washington, D.C. The enemy has known this from the very first day, and he has conducted himself accordingly. Ho Chi Minh did not win his revolution in Dienbienphu—he won it in Paris, the capital of France. He won it by securing enough support from French leftists, French Communists, and—yes—French Traitors, to make it good politics for the French politicians to adopt a "no-win" policy—and sell out the French fighting men at the front.

When you have a winning system, you do not change it. Ho and his military strategist, General Giap, have effectively used the same tactics in an open and obvious effort to win the Viet Nam War right here in Washington. We have seen the disgraceful spectacles as the "Dear American Friends" of the Communist enemy paraded, and potted, and paraded, and rioted—right here in Washington, D.C. We have observed the shameless way in which the cowards, the draft dodgers, and the other assorted hypocrites marched right here in our nation's capital, desecrating the memory of brave Americans who made the supreme sacrifice in Viet Nam—by using the names of those heroes to give aid and comfort to the very enemy they died fighting. We have seen the Star and Stripes pulled down—replaced by Red and Viet Cong banners right here in Washington. And so, today, we have come to the proper place to bring about the change which Americans by the millions demand.

Who are we—and why are we here?

We are Americans—and we demand an American Peace through Victory—rather than the Communist peace, which is slavery.

Those of us who love our flag, and are proud to be called Americans and known as patriots—we demand Victory in Viet Nam.

Those of us who neither fled nor flinched when our country called us in time of distress—we demand Victory in Viet Nam.

Those of us who have served honorably in the uniform of our nation—we demand Victory in Viet Nam.

Those of us who have borne the burden in other wars, who are the combat veterans of Africa, and Europe, and Asia, and the Atlantic, and the Pacific—we demand Victory in Viet Nam.

Those of us who wear the Purple Heart, who have shed our blood for our homeland—we demand Victory in Viet Nam.

Those of us who have ourselves been prisoners of war, who have known the moral strength which comes from faith that our countrymen would never abandon us to the enemy—we demand Victory in Viet Nam.

Those of us who are disabled veterans of America's other wars—we demand Victory in Viet Nam.

Loyal Americans—here by the thousands—demand only Victory in Viet Nam. Other Americans by the hundreds of thousands, indeed by the millions, can no longer be deceived. They are with us in spirit today—and they will be with us throughout the land in the days to come.

Let our leaders hear our voice—let the world know our resolution. We demand Peace in Vietnam—Peace through Victory—and with God's help we shall have it.

#### THE BIBLICAL BASIS FOR VICTORY

(Statement by Dr. Carl McIntire, chairman, March for Victory, Washington, D.C., Apr. 4, 1970)

The March for Victory with its primary appeal to God is based upon the clear teachings of Scripture. The Bible presents to Christians their duty on just and necessary occasions to engage in war.

In Matthew 26:52 Jesus Christ stated, "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." The two swords represent first, an evil sword and second, a righteous sword. The evil sword is in the hand of the murderer, the revolutionary, the aggressor and the provoker of war. This sword has to be stopped.

The sword that is used to stop the war, the murderer, the aggressor, the revolutionary is in the hands of those who desire liberty, order, peace.

It was this sword that the Apostle Paul in Romans 13:1-4 describes as "The minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." There is biblical justification for a holy crusade to stop warring Communism. Wrath against murderous Communism is in the divine order. It is time to call for a holy war in defense of freedom from Communist aggression.

In Mark 3:27, again the Saviour taught, "No man can enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods except he will first bind the strong man; and then he will spoil his house." Recognizing the realities of this present evil age, Jesus Christ made it plain that a man would have to maintain the strength of his house for its security against the evil forces which would take possession. Thus, protection from within and strength to meet all the forces from without are essential to preserve independence, liberty, peace. This is the basis of police power for order and it is the foundation of all military power as represented today in the military industrial complex.

In Luke 11:17, the Saviour again recognized the reality which every nation must face when he said: "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and a house divided against a house falleth. If Satan also be divided against himself, how shall his kingdom stand?" It is therefore essential in war that a nation maintain its unity and that it seek to disrupt and divide its enemy. This is exactly what the Communist world, inspired by Satan, is presently doing to the USA. Satan in his darkness is wise enough to know the strategy of divide and conquer. But a free America, in its sin, is so confused that it will not provide a leadership which will expose the forces of division and lead the nation to unity by victory.

The USA needs unity to meet the Communist onslaught, and it is essential that it have a leadership that will unite the country, not in surrender or retreat which will more deeply divide, but in victory as the nation has been united before in World War I and II. God can give the strength for victory, and those who fear Him must act upon their faith.

#### TELL IT TO HANOI

(The following resolution was unanimously passed by the March For Victory Committee assembled in Washington, D.C. April 4, 1970:)

This assembly of patriots hereby informs Hanoi and the Communist world that God-fearing Americans are finished with temporizing appeasement and retreat. The lying propaganda and the deceitful activities of the Communist world can no longer be effective to neutralize or provoke. The godless, Communist slave machine which makes men its property, and instruments of revolution and hate, must receive the strongest of opposition.

We call upon all those throughout the world who believe in Communism and desire world revolution to take notice that there shall be no compromise, no surrender, and that in the Name of the living God the conflict shall be joined and the victory won.

# AN APPEAL TO THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE MARCH AGAINST DEATH, NOVEMBER 15, 1969

(The following resolution was unanimously passed by the March For Victory Committee assembled in Washington, D.C., April 4, 1970:)

We Marchers for victory who walk the same route and gather about the same Monument in our nation's capital, address this open appeal to all of the new MOBE and hippies who call for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam now and surrender to the Communist demands.

First, we are all citizens of this free land. The concepts of freedom which have made possible our assembly in Washington are alien to everything Communism has represented in Moscow, Peking and Hanoi. We call for a careful reappraisal of the concept of freedom which places life above liberty, comfort above truth, and the power of government above God.

Second, all freedom is related to God who is the author of it, the protector of it, and the one who in judgment deprives men of it. We ask that there be a complete rejection of all forms of violence, civil disobedience and intolerance toward opponents.

Third, the place of war in preserving liberty, justice and peace should be studied and supported. The use of peace for the purpose of giving the enemies of freedom victory constitutes what God has condemned in substituting light for darkness, truth for error, and freedom for slavery.

We call upon all to join with us in open, wholesome, respectful debate and confrontation to the end that this nation may be united and that the current divisions may not be exploited by those who seek the downfall of this country.

## DESERTERS

(The following was unanimously adopted by the March For Victory Committee assembled in Washington, D.C., April 4, 1970:)

This assembly of the March For Victory addresses itself to the young Americans who have fled to Canada, found refuge in Sweden and other lands and who are deserters from the armed forces. We call upon those who have been born in freedom to recognize its priceless value before God. When the Communist world denies freedom to millions and uses its power over men to wage war, all that is dear in any man's life to his soul, his body, his family and loved ones requires that he dedicate himself to the preservation of that liberty. May there indeed be on the part of each young man a reappraisal of liberty and his own relationship to His creator. To flee from America when its priceless heritage is under assault throughout the world constitutes a grave repudiation of God's blessings to our nation.

We therefore appeal to these young men to return and join in unifying the youth of the nation in behalf of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." Luke 12:15.

## THE POLICE AND THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

(The following was unanimously adopted by the March For Victory Committee assembled in Washington, D.C., April 4, 1970:)

This assembly of the March For Victory declares its support and confidence in the police and the military of this nation and thanks God for their faithfulness, courage and diligence. This assembly repudiates the current effort to demean and destroy our police and to restrict and to intimidate them in the exercise of their responsibility for good order. The current efforts to discredit the military and place all of our soldiers in a position of uncertainty in relation to their conduct constitutes an affront to every American.

We call for an exposure of the leftist forces which have currently infiltrated the law enforcement agencies to the end that our security is now in jeopardy. The military industrial complex and the place of the Pentagon in our national life we honor and recognize as absolutely essential to secure and maintain world peace.

## TELEGRAM TO OUR BOYS IN VIETNAM

We salute you as soldiers, patriots, Americans. We assure you of our prayers to Almighty God for your strength, protection and victory in the Vietnam battle. We have called upon the President as Commander-in-Chief to win this war and bring all of our prisoners and you home with honor. We are rallying support of the nation in behalf of your valiant endeavors for the security of our country and for the winning of the blessings of liberty. We deeply resent the military. We are being made to discredit the military. We are determined that the Communist aggression and world-wide conspiracy shall be defeated.

(Adopted at the April 4th March For Victory in Vietnam, Washington Monument, Washington, D.C.)

## THE CITY OF TOMORROW

### HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, a town in my district whose early history goes back to 1661 when Arent Van Curler and 14 of his friends settled there from Nykerk, Holland, is celebrating its sesquicentennial anniversary the week of July 13. Originally rolling verdant rich farmland, it developed into one of the major rail centers in the United States, a bustling business community with lovely suburban areas. I describe the town of Rotterdam located in the 29th District in Schenectady County referred to by its proud citizenry as "The City of Tomorrow."

With the decline of the railroad industry, progressive citizens of Rotterdam have encouraged other businesses to settle in their community. It is the home of a large portion of the General Electric Co. new commercial enterprises occupying the former site of the U.S. Army Depot, and a market depot serving as a distribution center for 23 Central Food Markets in that area.

I speak with pride about this vibrant town in my district and invite my colleagues to share in the festivities of its anniversary celebration under the chairmanship of Armand Westerland by visiting this gateway to the West, resting by the Mohawk River and the Erie Canal.

At this point, with pride I insert in the RECORD the town's history as concisely but colorfully recounted by its historian, Robert Barr:

## THE CITY OF TOMORROW

(By R. J. Barr)

The history of Rotterdam goes back three hundred years to 1661 when Arent Van Curler, from Nykerk, Holland and fourteen other Dutch settlers, settled the area which was later to become the city of Schenectady. In 1661 the present town of Rotterdam served as outlying farm lands for the settlers. With

few exceptions, these settlers made their homes in the Stockade (Schenectady) and took to their farm lands only during the daytime. A few of the more daring folk, the Van Antwerps, Bradts, Mabes, and the Van Guyslings, built their homes in Rotterdam as early as 1670 and 1700, or shortly thereafter.

After the French and Indian threats had diminished, others left the safety of the Stockade and built permanent homes on the rich Mohawk River flat in Rotterdam. Most of this land is still used as farm land. These same lands were used by the Mohawk Indians as early as 1300 for raising corn and beans, and the early Dutch well knew the farm value of this land. An early historical account mentions that it was these rich river flats that first prompted Van Curler to attract the first settlers. This same land, later in 1860, was responsible for the fact that the Broom Corn Industry had its center here.

In 1821, however, the town of Rotterdam was incorporated. Gradually the woodlands gave way to efforts of the stout-hearted folks, the pioneer farmers who staked their claims on land that was to become Schenectady County's leading township.

Eventually, a hamlet now known as Pattersonville, came into being and its stores, taverns, and nearby churches also served the area to the east, which was to blossom forth miraculously as one of the best known villages in New York State.

At the present time we still have descendants of the first Dutch to settle this area. Such names as Vrooman, Bradt, and Schermerhorn and others are numerous and some of these still own the land originally purchased by their ancestors from the Indians.

The industrial size of a community is always influenced and sometimes determined by the physical characteristics of the region or country surrounding it. Some particular features of geologic structure or physical geography has often determined the site of a town and controlled its economic development. Therefore . . .

It is difficult to separate the Town of Rotterdam from Schenectady since they are both geographically and historically so closely connected.

In the case of Schenectady, when Van Curler first visited the area in 1640, it is understood that he considered the flat lands that bordered the river west of Schenectady in the Town of Rotterdam as the primary consideration for the subsequent settlement of Schenectady.

The history of the Town of Rotterdam which calls itself "The Town of Tomorrow" has followed a picturesque pattern since the pioneer days before it became a part of the City of Schenectady and the more civilized era 140 years ago when the township was incorporated as an entity.

Formerly a frontier land where existed only the lairs of wild beasts with not even an Indian wigwam to add a mortal touch, the Town of Rotterdam became the third ward of Schenectady when the city was incorporated in 1798. It retained that status when the County of Schenectady was chartered in 1809.

Rotterdam Junction, today a quiet suburban community, might well have been called "Boomtown" in the days of its infancy, about 1883. Reminiscent of western towns that mushroomed almost overnight during the days of the gold rush, Rotterdam was transformed from a placid farmland area into a flourishing, hustling village when singled out as the ideal location for a railroad shipping center.

Later, a one million dollar expansion program marked the junction as one of the most important railroad yards in the east—then about three decades ago, came changes which stripped it of its own glory.

The remarkable chain of events began in 1883 when the old Fitchburgh Railroad



purchased the vast farmlands of the Mable and Bratt families as the perfect location for railroad yards to serve as a junction point for shipping freight.

About the same year, after much study, the West Shore Railroad began construction of a line from Mechanicville to Rotterdam Junction extending from the Vermont-Massachusetts state lines to Mechanicville that had been opened in 1879. Plans originally had been made by former owners of the West Shore Railroad to utilize Schenectady as a connecting point for the line east to west, but with installation of the rails to Rotterdam Junction, the idea of entering the City of Schenectady was given up.

Rotterdam Junction was said to have become virtually the Gateway to the West when the West Shore lines were officially opened January 1, 1884, and the powerful tentacles of steel in the village connected New England with points west of here. Proximity of the Mohawk River and Erie Canal magnified the possibilities of the Junction's importance from the very first and multiplied its importance and usefulness later as a river to rail junction. In a remarkably short time the countryside was transformed phenomenally by construction of homes, stores and hotels.

Shortly after installation of the railroad yards, the Junction also began service as a river to rail junction, utilizing the threefold facilities provided by the Mohawk River, Erie Canal and railroads.

In the boomtime rush men came from every section of the state for jobs in the new yard. Some were drifters who worked for a while then wanderer away; others stayed, built homes, and raised their families in the thriving village which by then dwarfed its sister community Pattersonville.

In November 1931, the blow fell that sounded death for one of New York's oldest rail centers. At that time railroad employees were notified that railroad officials had decided to shift all classification work to Mechanicville.

Rotterdam Junction, which was once on the map in capital letters, has not become a ghost town, but has accepted well its role of a suburban community because of the nearness of Schenectady and Amsterdam.

Lurking in the minds of its progressive citizenry, however, are the ambitions to promote it once more to the front in industry or commerce and establishment of several enterprises has been discussed at intervals. Meanwhile it is fast becoming known in the winter-sports world, for Rotterdam Junction nestles at the foothills of the well-known Rotterdam ski-trails.

Residents predict it is no idle conjecture that the Junction again may make a name for itself. Possibly not to be outstanding in industry—but perhaps a favorite winter-sport recreation center.

The entire Town of Rotterdam has progressed steadily through the years since the first settlers came to this region nearly three centuries ago. Today's prosperous residential and business districts in all parts of the township are a far cry from the primitive forest of the day when Daniel Van Antwerp in 1670 decided to hew out the residence now known historically the Mable House in the Junction.

This house still stands and is occupied by George Clark, who was employed as a fireman on the railroad, and is now retired from the Rotterdam Police department with 22 years service.

As a request of the Mable heirs, this house will never be sold. When it is no longer possible to rent the house, it will be deeded to the state as a museum.

The modern equipment in the house can be easily removed, returning it to its original finishing.

The Town of Rotterdam, formerly the

third ward of Schenectady County, covered a large territory. It now extends to within seven miles of Amsterdam and to within 10 miles of the Albany City line, encompassing approximately 36.3 square miles.

The police department, ordinarily a one man force which up to 1942 was a constabulary, is now under civil service jurisdiction and headed by Chief Joseph Dominelli, and now has a force of 23 men. The department is as modern as the time, with radio equipped patrol cars, and modern headquarters built in 1957 located alongside the new Town Hall which was opened for occupancy Jan. 1, 1940.

At the turn of the century, this area was the site of a fertilizer plant operated by Stanton and Ouderkerk, who currently operate a wholesale paper business in Schenectady.

The Town has its own water supply system worth over \$5,000,000 and a sewage treatment plant on Campbell road. With its ivy covered building and landscaped terraces, it has been classified by authorities and Albany Medical students as "cleaner than a milk plant." This was a WPA project, built in 1939 at a cost of \$870,000.

Rotterdam has well over 90 miles of town-owned roads, in addition to its highways and thoroughfares, that are under county and state jurisdiction. The township is the largest in the county's population, with two entrances of the New York State Thruway within its boundary.

Classified as a first-class town since 1942, because of its population, the township has its own Town Hall on Vinewood Avenue in the heart of the town. It is governed by its own judicial body, the Town Board consists of a Supervisor and four Councilmen.

The first school district in the township includes kindergarten through high school. Most of these are as modern as the day, with the new Mohonasen and Schalmont High Schools showpieces for the town.

The township's churches embrace all creeds, the latest, St. Gabriels. Its businessmen's Association, Masonic Club, Kiwanis, Lions, Rotary and Elks Clubs are vital factors in the progress of the town. Veteran organizations and their auxiliaries are also active in the town.

The township has been noted for many years throughout the county and state for the serious degree in which it takes its politics. The two major parties both own property in the town. The Rotterdam Republican Club has its park and pavilion on Thompson St. The Rotterdam Democratic Club has its clubhouse on Duaneburg road. The women of both parties are also organized actively as clubs.

There are seven fire districts in the town, some of which own and maintain their own ambulance. The photo is typical of the volunteer fire departments in Rotterdam.

A number of small business enterprises and a large portion of General Electric Company and the United States Army Depot, as well as the Schenectady Varnish works, are within the town's boundaries, lifting it from the category of purely residential or agricultural.

In February, 1962, the latest industrial plant was started in Rotterdam—the modern Central Market Warehouse was dedicated and started operations as a distribution center for their 23 stores.

No doubt selected because of the rail and Thruway transportation facilities, the Golub Corporation proudly can boast of the most modern facilities for the comfort and convenience of employees in expediting their duties. The building is entirely air-conditioned with a P-A system piped to every section of the plant. It has its own enclosed railroad siding and truck loading dock which is large enough to accommodate 10 railroad cars.

Its payroll, inventory and all accounting work is done on the latest electronic data processing computers.

A cafeteria which will seat 100 is main-

tained for the convenience of the 125 employees.

A truck repair shop and sign shop are also provided, along with large areas for meats and produce refrigeration.

Although a great deal of the town is rural, we have today, many concentrations of so-called building development areas which consist of one family homes.

We have several residents who remember these areas as farmlands. Charles Winters, a merchant here, has had various enterprises in Carman. He lived on the Cooper farm as a boy. This is far from farmland now, with a residential area, a large public park with tennis and basketball courts, three baseball diamonds, and the new Carman fire department.

The residential area known as Coldbrook is located on the old James Estate. The first house in this development was constructed in 1946. There are over 600 homes there now.

Stoodley Gardens is a development on the old Stoodley farm. It also encompasses Highbridge Manor and Riggs Estate.

Merely the hinterland of a struggling city of 150 years ago, today the Town of Rotterdam proudly cites its own achievements.

As an indication of how we feel about Rotterdam, Holland, from where many of our early settlers came we have adopted the official seal of that city, with their blessings. That seal is now used in the Town Hall where all official business is conducted. The seal is also used on all the town stationery along with the slogan which typifies our outlook—"The City of Tomorrow."

#### RUSSELL TRAIN APPEARS BEFORE TASK FORCE

HON. GEORGE BUSH  
OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, having taken a short break for the Easter recess, the Republican task force on earth resources and population, of which I am chairman, has resumed its weekly hearings. Yesterday, we were most privileged to have the Honorable Russell B. Train, the newly appointed chairman of the President's Environmental Quality Council appear before the task force.

Due to the burgeoning concern over environmental matters, our task force has been eagerly studying the effects of the population explosion and environmental degradation. Last year, we dedicated the majority of our time to researching the ramifications of a rapid population growth; this eventually led to the publication of our family planning report—Federal Government Family Planning Programs—Domestic and International. This year, we have concentrated our efforts on the examination of environmental problems.

The task force, being cognizant of the work and publicity regarding environmental matters, has searched for ways to be more than a voice in the crowd. The environmental issue has rapidly become one of the Nation's leading political topics, and there appears to be an abundance of incentives, and a deficiency of creativity. For this reason, our task force has been attempting to gain a working knowledge of the situation in order to make productive contributions, and not merely be the creators of insidious rhetoric.

Tuesday's meeting with Mr. Train proved to be most helpful in this respect. The President's Environmental Quality Council, which Mr. Train chairs, functions to advise and assist the President on environmental matters. With President Nixon's avowed concern over this issue, as was evidenced in his state of the Union message, and his environmental message, this Council may prove to be one of the most significant and beneficial organizations dedicated to the amelioration of our present difficulties. Mr. Train pointed out that the President has outlined a comprehensive, 37-point program, embracing 23 major legislative proposals and 14 new measures being taken by administrative action or Executive order in five major categories. These categories include: Water pollution control, air pollution control, solid waste management, parklands and public recreation, and organizing for action. The Environmental Quality Council will be deeply involved in many of them.

Mr. Train explained that the Council is only in its incipient stages. However, he mentioned various research projects that the Council has already begun to undertake such as those regarding oil spills, recycling, phosphate substitutes, and so forth. Mr. Train was particularly helpful to many members of the task force regarding questions they had concerning environmental problems in their own districts.

We were most grateful to have Mr. Train appear before our task force, and we benefited greatly from his helpful comments. Next week, we will continue our examination of the mineral shortage problem and we will have Mr. David S. Freeman, Director of the Energy Policy Staff of the Office of Science and Technology appear before the task force. Mr. Freeman will discuss the projected energy requirement as it relates to an increasing population.

#### NATIONAL LIBRARY WEEK

**HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER**

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, it would be unusual indeed were a Member of Congress not to recognize the importance of libraries in America. Here in Washington we have the Library of Congress, probably the best in the world. But throughout our great Nation there are other libraries—perhaps smaller—but no less important for the welfare of our country than are the bigger ones.

In these libraries are stored the collected wisdom of the ages, readily accessible to all Americans. And for this reason, the Nation's libraries represent the hope of the future also. For our libraries provide, in addition to countless hours of reading pleasure and relaxation, the information and ideas which will enable the citizens of our free society to function most intelligently in this complex world.

That is why I rise here today—in recognition of our libraries during National Library Week, April 12 to 18. I know for certain people of the Fourth Congressional District of Kentucky, the citizens of America, and all of my colleagues here in Congress share the appreciation for our libraries which I express here in the House today.

#### U.S. PHARMACOPOEIAL CONVENTION

**HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Pharmacopoeial Convention is currently holding its 150th anniversary meeting in Washington, D.C. Organizations old enough to celebrate their sesquicentennial are rare in America, and rarer still are those that can truthfully lay claim to as illustrious a record of service to the science and art of medicine and pharmacy as the U.S. Pharmacopoeial Convention.

On January 1, 1820, in the U.S. Senate Chamber, 11 physicians—three of whom were Congressmen—met to form the first pharmacopoeial convention. Twelve months later the first U.S. Pharmacopoeia was published. Since that time, the pharmacopoeia has undergone a continuous process of growth and development. Originally edited by physicians alone, it has become a joint enterprise of the medical and pharmaceutical professions with collaboration from other specialists in related sciences.

The first pharmacopoeia was born in an era of confusion in the medical community. Without standards for drugs, there was no assurance that any two patients would be given the same medications, nor could a physician be assured that the same medication would be dispensed to a patient by two different apothecaries. The pharmacopoeia has evolved into a therapeutic guide to the medical profession. Its critical and unbiased evaluation of drugs and the development of standards that all producers must meet enable physicians and pharmacists to place even greater reliance upon the quality of the medication they prescribe and dispense.

The pharmacopoeia has become an important aid to teachers in schools of pharmacy and medicine. It is the primary source for authors of textbooks on therapeutics and pharmacy, as well as the basis for drug selection in hospitals, the armed services, and health departments.

The U.S. Pharmacopoeial Convention, publisher of the U.S. Pharmacopoeia, is a relatively quiet organization but its outstanding record speaks for itself. Its ability to mobilize voluntary expertise from academia, industry, government, and private practice is a significant landmark in citizen-government cooperation.

Today the U.S. Pharmacopoeial Convention is our only national organization representing both the professions of

pharmacy and medicine. It is an independent, nonprofit, scientific organization incorporated under Federal statute, primarily dedicated to selecting the best established medicinal agents and providing standards of pharmaceutical quality for them.

Since enactment of the first food and drug law in 1906, U.S. Pharmacopoeial standards have been enforced by the Federal Food and Drug Administration, thereby making this an outstanding, unique, and highly successful model of cooperation between the Government, the professions, and industry. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare task force on prescription drugs stated in its background paper, "The Drug Prescribers," that—

Most private and government officials are quite prepared to argue that the compendia have more than adequately fulfilled the role assigned to them in the original Food and Drug Act and in all of its revision.

The U.S. Pharmacopoeia is the world's oldest continuously revised pharmacopoeia and its standards are utilized the world over.

The letters "U.S.P.," whether on common household products, such as aspirin tablets, calamine lotion, milk of magnesia, or iodine tincture, or on prescription drugs, such as phenobarbital, give confidence and assurance to the buying public, to the pharmacist, and to the physician of a reliable and uniform product.

Ultimate authority for the U.S. Pharmacopoeia rests in its convention, which meets every 10 years in Washington, D.C. This week the convention is meeting to provide guidance and discuss new areas in which the U.S. Pharmacopoeial Convention can act to improve drug therapy for the millions of people in this country. I would like to extend to the convention and to the delegates my best wishes for a successful meeting and my heartiest congratulations on their 150th anniversary.

#### CONGRATULATIONS TO THE CITY NEWS

**HON. EDWARD I. KOCH**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, City News, an independent weekly newspaper serving Co-op City, one of the largest housing developments in the city of New York, located in Bronx County, has received the first-place award for general excellence in news reporting. The award is the highest made by the New York Press Association which is composed of 450 weeklies in the State of New York.

What is particularly significant is that this newspaper is only 1 year old and it is exceptional that a new newspaper would so quickly reach this height and success.

The award presented was for "outstanding achievement in the field of journalism." In addition to that award, it also received a third place award for its



excellence in photography. The publisher, Charles Hagedorn, who also is publisher and editor of Town and Village, must be commended for this outstanding success.

It is unfortunate that in the city of New York we now have only four daily newspapers. However, this void is made up in great part by the fact that in the city of New York, there are a number of first rate weeklies among which are City News and Town and Village.

#### IOWA HONORS EUGENE T. BURKE

#### HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, last week I was privileged to attend a dinner honoring one of Iowa's most active and effective citizens, Eugene T. Burke. Gene has had an outstanding career in politics, having been associated with the Democratic Party for half a century and having become recognized as a leader with a vast wealth of information on the problems facing his hometown of Clinton, Iowa, his State, his country, and the world at large. I have found his counsel and judgment invaluable and am proud to call him a personal friend.

The spirit of this memorable occasion was aptly captured in an article which appeared the next day in the Clinton Herald. I insert this article in the RECORD at this time:

[From the Clinton (Iowa) Herald, Apr. 3, 1970]

NO PARTY LINES AT BIG PARTY—CITY JOINS IN TRIBUTE TO "MR. DEMOCRAT"

(By Lee White)

Democrats and Republicans joined Thursday night in honoring Eugene T. Burke who is known as Clinton's "Mr. Democrat."

More than 250 persons attended a dinner and program in the Moose club to give recognition to the more than half a century of Burke's devotion to the Democratic party and the Clinton community.

The affair was saddened by the unexpected death Thursday morning of John W. Carlsen, a long-time friend of Burke, who was to have been master of ceremonies. At the close of the program, benediction was given by the Rev. E. W. G. Worrall, St. John's Episcopal church pastor, who asked the group for a moment of silent prayer in honor of Carlsen.

S. J. McDonald and Mayor Edward Obermiller substituted for Carlsen as masters of ceremonies, and read some of the scores of letters and telegrams addressed to Mr. Burke.

First speaker was Rep. John C. Culver of the 2d Iowa district who said he felt it was a high personal privilege to be with Burke personally and his many friends on such an occasion.

Culver told of his first visit to Clinton in 1963 when he was a candidate for Congress after having been told to visit Burke who had been described as "the one man alone to see about the Clinton County political situation."

"I well remember that visit," said Culver. "I was struck then and still am by his dedication to our system of government and his participation in public life."

"Gene Burke is not only Mr. Democrat in Clinton but he also is Mr. Democrat in the 2nd district, in Iowa and the nation as is testified by the messages and letters which have poured in from all over the country."

"Gene Burke has become recognized as an unmatched source of information because of his wealth of knowledge concerning politics," said Culver. "He is a most highly respected member of the bar and is known for his dedicated role as a director of the Clinton public library. It is a testament to his belief in the American system to know of his many friends in the Republican party."

"Our system of government could not survive without the Gene Burkes and the George Pillers who devote their talents and energies in its behalf," Culver concluded.

Pillers, who is chairman of the Clinton County Republican central committee, was one of many Republicans who turned out to honor Burke.

Stephen M. Delaney, a member of the Great River Road commission, told of the Delaney-Burke family friendship which dates back to the early days of Clinton. After Rev. Worrall read a congratulatory message to Burke from Bishop Gordon V. Smith, Episcopal bishop of Iowa, letters and messages were read from Gov. Robert D. Ray, Sen. Harold Hughes, Chief Justice Edwin Moore of the Iowa Supreme Court, Justice Clay Le Grand, William Di, president of the American Library Assn., Mrs. Ethel L. Bealer, president of the Iowa Library Assn., and Mrs. John W. Craft, president of the Iowa Traveling Library Assn.

Charles E. Smith, representing the Clinton Labor Congress, read congratulatory messages from President Robert Napolitano and Secretary A. E. Hubbard of the Clinton congress; Hugh D. Clark, president of the Iowa Federation of Labor, and national officers of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union of over 500,000 members.

Offering congratulations as local friends were B. M. Jacobsen, District Judge M. L. Sutton, Fred Hinrichs and Lee F. White.

John Hansen, of Winterset, former 7th district congressman and member of the Iowa Highway Commission, commented that "if John Culver continues to take the advice of Gene Burke he will continue to serve the 2nd district well." Hansen said Clinton is exceptionally fortunate to have Gene Burke in its midst as also is the State of Iowa.

Acknowledgment then was made of receipt of letters and telegrams from E. C. Halbach, Clinton attorney; Everett A. Streit, Clinton Herald editor and assistant to the publisher; Edward A. McDermott, formerly of Dubuque and now practicing law in Washington, D.C. after serving in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations; Lawrence F. O'Brien, chairman of the National Democratic committee, Sen. Edward Kennedy and former Vice-President Hubert Humphrey.

Ray C. Walton, First Iowa district Democratic committeeman and candidate for Iowa attorney general, said he hoped he would be could measure up to the contribution to he Democratic party made by Burke.

Before Burke spoke briefly he was presented with gifts from the sponsoring committee by Mrs. Nell Kulzenga.

In opening Burke paid tribute to the memory of Leonard Wolfe, former 2nd Iowa district congressman who died last week in Madison, Wis., at the age of 44.

Burke expressed his appreciation for the recognition given him and Mrs. Burke and gave some amusing political reminiscences after which Mayor Obermiller presented him with the original copy of a "Eugene T. Burke Recognition Day" proclamation which he had issued.

Saying that "it is only fitting that you should be honored by this community," Mayor Obermiller presented Burke with a

certificate of appreciation. Citing Burke as a friend of many years, Obermiller said that he, with countless others had profited by the advice given him in the political field.

Arrangements for the dinner were made by Mrs. Kulzenga, Mrs. C. J. Claseman, Mrs. S. J. McDonald, Mrs. Alice Oltmans and Mrs. Edward Obermiller.

#### A GARDEN FOR THE BLIND

#### HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, as the Representative of South Carolina's Third Congressional District, I am most happy to report to you on two recent events held here in Washington, which involved the South Carolina delegation, Clemson University officials and their friends.

On Wednesday evening, March 18, a reception was held by the delegation for Dr. and Mrs. T. L. Senn. Dr. Senn is head of the Clemson horticulture department. Accompanying Dr. Senn was Dr. Robert C. Edwards, president of Clemson University.

Representative JOHN McMILLAN, as dean of our delegation and vice chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, in his remarks during the reception, lauded Clemson's fine agriculture college and Dr. William Wiley, dean of the agricultural school at Clemson.

Dr. Edwards praised the dedication of Dr. Senn, as well as his associate professors and instructors at Clemson. Said Dr. Edwards:

It is our dedicated department heads and the administrative staff who, since 1893 when Clemson first opened its doors to 446 students, have brought our University into national and international recognition.

At this reception and on behalf of the delegation, Dr. and Mrs. Senn were presented a beautiful watercolor portrait of Dr. Senn. Mr. Speaker, you will recall that Dr. Senn was U.S. Horticulturist of the Year in 1968.

On the afternoon of March 19, Secretary of Agriculture and Mrs. Hardin, officially opened the National Lawn and Garden Week display of lovely flowers, shrubs and garden vegetables in the patio of the administration building of the Department of Agriculture. Clemson University was one of the six land-grant universities invited to participate in this remarkable undertaking. The Clemson display planned by Dr. Senn and his staff was "A Garden for the Blind."

After learning that Clemson was planning this particular garden as their entry in the display, the USDA decided to make the entire exhibition available for blind groups to visit. The Clemson Horticulture Department in association with the South Carolina State School for the Blind worked up a trail-type program for all the blind who wished to visit their display. Braille tapes and cards were printed with the help of the South Carolina School for the Blind. Dr. Edwards had as his personal guests, 12-year-old Rickey Godfrey, sightless since birth, and

one of his devoted teachers, Mrs. Virginia Robinette, who flew to Washington for the opening ceremonies. The Columbia Lighthouse for the Blind here in Washington, at the request of the USDA, assisted in printing braille cards for all the garden displays, so that the blind who could read braille could fully understand and enjoy the species as well as the characteristics of plant life through read and touch methods.

Mr. Speaker, I have always been an advocate of gardening and I feel that the Clemson Horticulture Department's idea of a garden for the blind could well work with people who are physically handicapped. A garden is great therapy and we should be forever grateful to Clemson for its initiative in this area of horticulture for the handicapped. The cooperation given by Secretary Hardin and his staff at USDA really excelled in this memorable undertaking.

Let us all plant a garden this year and show Dr. Senn, Dr. Edwards, and Secretary Hardin that we get the message. Make 1970 the greatest year ever for the National Lawn and Garden Week.

#### "JUSTICE" IN ATHENS

**HON. DONALD M. FRASER**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the situation in Greece is getting worse—far from evolving into democracy, totalitarian principles in Greece are becoming stronger and more evident each day. The myth of press freedom was exploded permanently with the arrest and conviction of five newspapermen and a former minister and the subsequent closing of the Athens newspaper *Ethnos*. The Stalinist show trial of 34 prominent citizens is another indication of the barbaric measures the junta is taking to maintain their power. I introduce at this point an editorial from the Washington Post of Wednesday, April 8, 1970, which concisely delineates the Greek situation and the American role; and an editorial from the Christian Science Monitor of Thursday, April 9, 1970, which comments on the recent actions of the junta:

[From the Washington Post, Wed. Apr. 8, 1970]

#### "JUSTICE" IN ATHENS

"Severity," said the Greek deputy premier, introducing the new press-control law, "is the mother of justice and freedom." He meant it. A court in Athens has just sentenced five newspapermen and a former government minister to prison terms up to 4½ years, plus fines. Their offense: publishing in *Ethnos* an interview in which an appeal was made for restoration of democracy. The interview was intended to "cause anxiety to citizens," the junta averred.

In another ongoing trial in Athens, 34 alleged members of a resistance group called Democratic Defense are accused of acts ranging from bombing to seditious propaganda. Many of the defendants used the forum to claim that, as prisoners, they had been tortured. One case was particularly bizarre: the wife of professor George Maghakos had alleged last year that her husband was being

tortured. He was then produced from his cell and he denied the allegation. His wife was given a four-year sentence for making false charges. At the current trial, however, Maghakos declared he had made his early denial only to spare his wife harm.

The regime's epidemic use of violence against its political opponents has been documented meanwhile in a new book, "Barbarism in Greece," by James Becket. An American lawyer who devoted several years to his inquiry, he lists by name 426 Greeks who survived their ordeals, 12 who did not. The practices of the junta turn your stomach.

The grimmest part of the Greeks' tragedy, for Americans, is their own government's support of the junta through common membership in NATO. By intermittent word, gesture and deed Washington has indicated some disapproval but it has felt compelled by strategic considerations, such as the deterioration in the Mideast situation over the three-year span of the junta, to keep up its alliance commitments. If there is no realistic basis for expecting the administration to diminish its presence in Greece, then there is no conceivable justification to increase its presence, say, by resuming military assistance at the old pre-coup level. In addition, Mr. Nixon ought to let the Greek people know he supports their right of self-determination, too.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Apr. 9, 1970]

#### THE WRONG KIND OF LESSON

"Violence breeds violence. The military leaders ought to have asked themselves whether their violence might not very well teach people a lesson. That's why responsibility for the explosions doesn't lie with the accused." These words were spoken at the Athens trial of the 34 Greek intellectuals in the dock for alleged seditious acts—including setting off bombs and distributing anti-government propaganda. But they came neither from a defense lawyer nor from any leftist defense witness. They were in fact pronounced by Greece's last civilian prime minister, Panayotis Kanellopoulos, politically right-of-center, who bravely chose to testify in behalf of the accused.

The trial, together with that last week of editors and publishers of the Athens daily, *Ethnos*, seems to have been decided upon by the junta to teach Greeks a lesson. With all that is coming out at the hearings, the colonels apparently have decided that it is more important to try to intimidate their countrymen than to reassure outside opinion about the nature of their rule. But embarrassingly, the majority of the accused who have so far given evidence have repudiated "confessions" signed while in jail, alleging that they were given under the pressure of torture.

Initially the regime allowed full reporting of the trial in the press. Presumably it was thought that the accused would discredit themselves. But now the presiding judge has banned any further description of torture in court. Could it be that the colonels discovered that the Greek public was believing the prisoners and not the prosecution? Eight foreign lawyers from Western Europe and Canada who arrived in Athens to attend the trial as observers were barred from the court on the grounds that their presence would be "an insult to Greek justice." Might they have come to believe the torture stories, too?

As a result of the trial of the men from *Ethnos*, that newspaper—founded back in 1913—has had to close down for the second time in its history. The first time was under the Nazi occupation of Athens. The paper's "crime"—under the colonels, not under the Nazis, of course—was that it published an interview with a former civilian cabinet minister in which the latter called for a government of national unity to deal with the crisis involving Greek interests in Cyprus. The sentences handed down included five

years' imprisonment for the editor and 13 months' for the octogenarian managing editor, Constantine Oikonomidis.

The colonels may believe they are teaching the Greeks respect for law, order and civic responsibility. The danger, of course, is that the lesson being learned is quite a different one—as Mr. Kanellopoulos so rightly pointed out.

#### TIME TO TAKE ANOTHER LOOK

**HON. BOB WILSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the more legitimate complaints about the news media is that they concentrate on bad news to the exclusion of the good. Their excuse is that when good things happen, it is not news. Of course this is nonsense.

The validity of the complaint is brought out by a story that appeared in the San Diego Union on March 13 by Ray McHugh, the Copley News Service Washington Bureau Chief. That day, here in Washington, the good news as usual was ignored while the unsavory aspects of our society were pointed up. Perhaps, as Mr. McHugh notes, it is time that the press did take another look at "what is news."

The story referred to follows:

PROUD BOYS AND GIRLS CONGRATULATED BY THEIR PRESIDENT: THAT'S NEWS!

(By Ray McHugh)

Why don't you report the good things?

Why don't you write about all the fine young people in America who are trying to do something for their country?

These questions have been fired with increasing regularity at newsmen across the United States, not only by Vice President Spiro Agnew, but by churchmen, civic leaders, just plain parents and by some of our colleagues.

The other night in Washington, 55 of those fine young people met the President of the United States and the leaders of Congress. They were the state finalists in the Veterans of Foreign Wars "Voice of Democracy" contest and guests of honor at the annual VFW congressional dinner that saw President Nixon present the veterans' 1970 award to Sen. Henry Jackson, Democrat of Washington. More than 400,000 students had entered the competition.

As the President arrived in the huge banquet room the U.S. Marine Corps Band struck up "Hail to the Chief" and some 2,000 veterans and congressmen from every corner of the country stood and cheered. The high school students, boys and girls, stood in awe, almost disbelief.

Abruptly, the President interrupted the program schedule. He walked to the long table where the winners were arranged and, one by one, he shook their hands and offered his personal congratulations.

The boys shifted self-consciously from one foot to another and stammered their thanks. The girls wept with emotion and one little high school junior from Nebraska threw her arms around Mr. Nixon's neck and kissed him on the cheek.

The President loved it. The veterans loved it.

But the next day, as the departing VFW commanders scanned the three Washington daily newspapers for an account of their evening, they were disappointed and angry.



Two had ignored it. The third accorded it two grudging inches in the third section.

But there was a picture of three hippie students being arrested at San Francisco State. There was a picture of another group of young radicals giving the "Black Power" salute outside the Bel Air, Md., trial of H. Rap Brown. There was a picture of girls involved in the "Women's Liberation Movement."

But there was no picture of a 15-year-old girl kissing her president, no picture of three boys and two girls who shared \$13,500 in VFW college scholarships for their scripts on "Freedom's Challenge." There wasn't even a story.

The veterans were angry at the newspapers in Washington. Perhaps it's time that all of us in the press took another look at "what's news."

#### STATEMENT OF McGEORGE BUNDY

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM  
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the SALT talks will be resumed in Vienna next week. The United States must adopt a position of flexibility and compromise if these important talks are to succeed.

The distinguished president of the Ford Foundation, McGeorge Bundy, testified yesterday before the Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Law and Organization of the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations. I believe his remarks are of great significance and I include them at this point:

#### STATEMENT OF McGEORGE BUNDY

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee: I am happy to accept your invitation to testify on the arms race, and I am particularly happy to appear in company with Dr. York. I would like to associate myself strongly with his basic argument.

My broad view of the arms race was stated last October in an article in *Foreign Affairs*, and to save the time of the Committee I would like, with your permission, to offer that article for the record instead of repeating it. Its principal conclusion was simply that the strategic arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union has gone too far, threatens to go further, and should be stopped by an early agreement between these two great powers. Since then SALT has begun in a businesslike way, and our Government is now considering what its position will be as the talks resume in Vienna next week.

My own strong belief is that the best next step for the United States in this field is to follow the course proposed in Senate Resolution 211. That Resolution first states the sense of the Senate that prompt negotiations be urgently pursued between the two great powers, and on this point I think there is little or no disagreement among Americans. The second part of the Resolution expresses the sense of the Senate that we should now propose an immediate suspension by both sides "of further deployment of all offensive and defensive nuclear strategic weapons systems. An excellent basic argument in favor of this Resolution is developed in the report submitted by Senator Fulbright, and I will not waste your time by repeating it. Let me rather offer ten brief comments on the significance of your Committee's position.

1. I assume that in passing Senate Resolution 211, the Senate will be urging the President to propose to the Soviet Union the mutual suspension of these deployments for

some reasonable term during which further progress could be made toward a definite agreement. There are some who suppose that the word "moratorium" implies a form of permanent self-entanglement, but as I understand it no such self-entanglement is either necessary or intended.

2. I strongly support the statement in the Committee Report that an agreed suspension of deployment of strategic systems will necessarily imply a suspension also of tests—as well as deployment—of such emerging systems as MIRV. The Committee Report makes the correct connection between the Soviet SS-9 and the American MIRV. This connection goes both ways. Just as the Soviets must limit SS-9 if they wish to stop MIRV, so I believe that if we are to get any early limit on SS-9 deployment, we ourselves must place MIRV on the bargaining table.

3. I believe that there will not be much progress in SALT until the United States Government is prepared to make a specific proposal. I think the odds are heavy that it will prove wise and right for us to move first. The Committee has heard the sensitive and perceptive testimony of Professor Marshall Shulman on Soviet attitudes towards arms negotiation. I share his view that Soviet wariness is at least equal to our own. Our experience, understanding and present strength make it right for us to take the initiative.

4. Specifically, I believe that as a part of any proposal for an agreed moratorium the United States should take a first step by announcing a suspension of its own deployment of ABM and MIRV for a limited time. Such a time could and should be relatively brief, and its extension could and should depend upon the promptness and seriousness of Soviet response. There might be some marginal inconvenience for our defense organization in such a suspension, and our already overwhelming strategic war plans might need marginal revision if specific planned deployments are delayed—but there is no real and present danger in such a limited suspension, and if we want results in SALT, we should try it. How long such a trial should be, and precisely what it should include, are matters I do not attempt to cover, since it would be unwise for a private citizen to try to define the exact length and direction of any first step. My point is simply that we should begin by an action as well as a proposal.

5. This belief rests not on any sentimental notion that we must be more virtuous than the Russians, but rather upon the deep conviction that effective limitation and reduction of the strategic arms race is an objective deeply in our own national interest as well as the interest of all mankind. It is wholly false to suppose that the national security is always served by adding strategic weapons and never by their limitation. In the world of the 1970s the truth is more nearly the opposite. We have more than enough strategic weapons today. The addition of new systems which will inevitably produce further Soviet systems is not the road to safety for anyone in any country.

6. In particular we should be on guard against the notion that it is useful to press the development or deployment of any given weapons system because of its value as a bargaining-counter for SALT. It is quite true that if we get nowhere in SALT and if Soviet strategic expansion continues, we shall have to take careful stock of our own needs. But there is no evidence at all that pressing the deployment of systems we do not yet need is likely to have a constructive effect on Soviet behavior in SALT. There are times and topics for toughness with Moscow, but SALT in April is not one of them, and many of those who urge this tactic are men who do not want SALT to succeed. It will be very hard to get a good agreement even if we do only what we have to do. It will probably be

impossible if we provide unnecessary ammunition to Soviet weapon-lovers by pressing our own deployments relentlessly throughout the talks.

7. In moving toward effective limitation of the arms race, we shall need to be alert and skeptical against distractions and diversions from those whose special interests may be threatened. The history of arms negotiation includes many examples of efforts by the partisans of particular weapons systems to prevent any agreement at all. During the negotiations before the Limited Test Ban Treaty, for example, it was suggested that the Soviets might obtain some decisive advantage by secret nuclear tests conducted behind the sun or by the construction of underground holes so big that the very existence of a test could not be detected. These arguments now rest properly in the dustbin of dead fantasy. But now new dangers are depicted in the effort to justify a refusal to limit or delay our own new weapons systems. Such arguments should be subjected to most meticulous and skeptical analysis, and in such study the role of the Congress is of high importance.

8. There is a particular danger in the uncritical acceptance of doctrines of strategic superiority—or even sufficiency—which may be used by zealous men in support of their own preferred weapons. This is as true of the Eisenhower Administration's belief in "prevailing" in a general war as it is of later doctrines of "assured destruction" and "damage limitation." All of these forms of words can be used to justify excessive expenditure on unnecessary strategic systems. At present there are four new criteria of strategic sufficiency, but the Administration has not told us what they are. According to press reports, these criteria include "assured destruction," "hostage equality," "crisis stability" and "third country protection." If the Administration and the Congress are not alert and watchful, criteria like these can be protective umbrellas for unchecked strategic expansionism. They can also be roadblocks in the way of arms limitation. They deserve public discussion. My own conviction is that the realities of strategic nuclear weapons are not subject to control by such verbal formulae. In the language of Justice Holmes, I believe that criteria like these tend to be spiders' webs inadequate to control the dominant facts.

9. The main proposition which we need to understand in order to limit the dangers of the nuclear age is that enough is enough. The Soviet Union and the United States have long since reached and passed that point. Each is now able to do totally unacceptable damage to the other, no matter how a nuclear catastrophe begins. Sane political leaders on both sides know this reality for what it is. It is of course possible that some still unknown technological development might genuinely disrupt this fundamental parity, but there is no evidence whatever that any such development is likely in the present decade. So we have enough, and more than enough, and we are on the edge of a most destabilizing and dangerous escalation. Now is the time to stop.

10. The Committee Report recognizes what I would like to emphasize in closing: that while citizens can comment and the Senate can advise, only the President can decide. It will take negotiation to reach agreement, and the official position of the Government of the United States can be stated to the Soviet Union only by our President and his authorized agents. The President must choose the timing and the shape of any initiative he takes; in the end his leadership is what will decide. As he considers the possible choices and deliberates on decisions which have not yet been made, the President is entitled to the thoughtful advice of the Senate, and in this field, where the

weight of bureaucratic influence has historically been heavily on the side of arms as against arms control, such advice can be of particular value to him. The easy course is always to avoid decisions; politically the argument for weapons is easy, and the argument for acts of restraint is hard. A President who wants to take the lead needs all the help he can get. The Senate can give such help, and in this situation it is obviously the duty of citizens to respond to the Senate's request for their honest views. I have stated mine, and I will be glad to try to answer your questions.

## HELLS CANYON NATIONAL RECREATION AREA

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, in a recent article in the Oregonian's Northwest magazine, Willis Hobart describes the unique beauty of the Hells Canyon portion of the Snake River, which separates Oregon and Idaho. However, as Mr. Hobart explains:

Today only about 120 of the entire 1000 miles, lying in the Middle Snake and Hells Canyon area still characterize the churning, ruggedly beautiful river that Captain William Clark first named the Lewis, for his explorer partner Meriwether.

I fully understand Mr. Hobart's sense of urgency about designating and preserving this natural treasure. For this reason, I have introduced a bill, H.R. 16437, to designate the "Hells Canyon National Recreation Area."

My bill differs from other measures that have been introduced to deal with the future of the Middle Snake region. It provides for intensive recreational development of part of the area while setting aside a large area in its present roadless state. The recreational development will in no way detract from the natural beauty of the canyon. It will extend the enjoyment of the area to those people who would otherwise be prevented from viewing this spectacular creation of nature.

I would like to reprint excerpts from Mr. Hobart's article at this point of the RECORD so that my colleagues will have a better understanding of the country we are trying to protect and designate for future generations.

The excerpts follow:

### HELLS CANYON OF THE SNAKE

Hells Canyon of the Snake—merely its name signifies the treachery encountered by the earliest explorers. Most saw it not merely as a wasteland but truly Hells Canyon, a natural barrier of magnificent proportions, challenging safe passage to the Willamette prairies or local gold fields. But the Indians saw it as the "Holy Mother Snake", a bountiful provider of game, salmon, steelhead, sturgeon and more—a twisting, roaring, turbulent oasis in an arid land that normally averages only around 12 inches of rainfall annually.

It is a stream replete with historical events ranging from the encampments of the Lewis and Clark Expedition at the mouth of the Clearwater River to the U.S. Army's tragic persecution of the Nez Perce Indians. Tiring

of the white man's maltreatment, Chief Joseph led his men, women and children in 1877 across the swollen waters of the Snake near Dug Bar without loss of tribesman or horse on their historic 1000 mile "strategic retreat" for freedom, a feat that has been likened to the ancient Greek's Retreat of the Ten Thousand. Later the proud Nez Perce (a name derived from the misnomer "Pierced Noses") were finally forced to surrender only a few miles from the Canadian border's safety.

Petroglyphs, early Indian drawings painstakingly etched on scattered rocks, hint of the area's rich archeological history dating back several thousand years to the continent's earliest inhabitants. Of an estimated 200 archeological sites, the number systematically excavated and studied can almost be counted on the fingers of one hand. Hopefully, future investigations in the area will provide greater insight into man's earliest life and movements in North America.

Other early explorers of the river included Wilson Price Hunt, Robert Stuart and Captain B.L.E. Bonneville who wrote in 1833 that "Nothing we had ever gazed upon in any other region could for a moment compare in wild majesty and impressive sternness with the series of scenes which here at every turn astonished our senses and filled us with awe and delight."

Much of the Snake River today would be virtually unrecognizable to pioneers who first fought that pristine stream. While two-thirds of the entire Snake Basin is range and forest, one-fourth is now dominated by agriculture, principally irrigated crops, livestock and dry-farmed grain.

The river has been dammed, polluted, diverted for irrigation, municipal uses, to cool a nuclear plant, paper and pulp production and other industrial purposes. Thus by the time its waters merge with the Columbia, they've seen a lot of use. Yet the remaining wild water, characterized by Hells Canyon's churning rapids, polished boulders, and white sand beaches, are surprisingly clean, attesting to the river's natural ability to cleanse itself, given the chance.

In size, the entire Snake River Basin rivals New England and New York State combined. Among Northwest rivers, the Snake is second only to the Columbia and provides fully one-fifth the Columbia's total flow. Springing from the Yellowstone-Teton area of Northwest Wyoming, the Snake swings to the southwest through Idaho's Burley-Twin Falls regions, circles to our border, heading north to pick up this state's Owyhee, Malheur and Powder rivers and Idaho's Bruneau, Weiser and Payette rivers, tripling in size in the last fifth of its course. And it also is here along this last one-fifth of its journey that the Snake enters Hells Canyon, the deepest verdant gorge on this continent, at 6550 feet, more than twice as deep as our average coastal mountains are tall. Mary's Peak, tallest of the Coast Range at slightly over 4,000 feet elevation, would be completely engulfed in Hell's Canyon, it's top only a tiny plateau nearly 2,500 feet below the Canyon's rim.

Too many view Hells Canyon in only one of its many facets, either its spectacular depth, its fish or its wildlife or recreational resource, the wild Snake River itself or its power potential. But it is as a whole that its uniqueness genuinely stands out. Compressed within its scope from river to rim, the canyon progresses through all six North American "life zones" and their characteristic fauna and flora, ranging from the desert-like Sonoran zones at or near the river's edge to the Alpine tundra atop the Seven Devils Mountains.

Many of its slopes below 4,000 feet are carpeted with grass and have been grazed by livestock since the mid-1800's. Timber adds flavor to the scenery over 4,000 feet, unlike the more barren appearing Grand Canyon of the Colorado or the Black canyon of the

Gunnison. Climate too may seem a paradox having snow on the rim at times yet sweltering under 100 degrees F. temperatures at river's edge in mid-summer.

Today only about 120 of its entire 1000 miles, lying in the Middle Snake and Hells Canyon area still characterize the churning, ruggedly beautiful river that Captain William Clark first named the Lewis, for his explorer-partner Meriwether. That this restricted area remains much the same today as before may only be due to its remoteness and comparative inaccessibility—characteristics which still provide much of the Middle Snake's charm.

Native wildlife includes the black bear, mule deer, elk, mink, river otter, raccoon, cougar, bobcat, coyote and farther downstream, the rarer Northwest or Idaho white-tail deer. Eagles, ospreys and peregrine falcons, among our rarer birds, share the winds with vultures, cliff swallows and many more. Here too, the chukar partridge, a bird introduced about 15 years ago, has found a good toehold and prospers. Quail, grouse and many others call the area home. Altogether, more than 150 different species of birds have been counted in the area.

Common to all wildlife and birds however, is the need for living space—nesting areas for birds in summer and wintering range for wildlife. Conservationists estimate that nearly 12,000 acres of irreplaceable wildlife habitat would be lost if the area were to be flooded, an especially severe blow to big game annually crowded down from summer pasture by snow.

Native salmon and steelhead have received their share of concern since plans began for construction of Bonneville Dam in the 1930's. But with only a 60-foot head, that dam was to confuse its critics, little impeding the upstream passage of migratory game fish through its new ladder facilities. On the other hand, the second major Columbia dam, Washington's 316 foot Grand Coulee, did indeed halt upstream passage, effectively blocking 1,140 miles of spawning streams. And at any rate, the general trend for the salmon and steelhead of the Columbia system has been downhill.

Today the Snake (primarily its lower segment) remains the best producer of salmon and steelhead in the entire Columbia River system. Of this, Idaho's Salmon River, immortalized as the "River of No Return," is by far the Snake's most important fish-producing tributary which would be blocked by the proposed China Gardens re-regulating dam, planned in conjunction with the High Mountain Sheep Dam.

Water temperatures can be very critical for salmon and steelhead, since they require relatively cool water for successful migration and spawning. Underscoring this problem was the month-long delay in Chinook salmon migration in 1967. That run remained in the Columbia's cooler waters until the Snake's temperature dropped to an acceptable level. Cause of the abnormally high "thermal pollution" is irrigation and impounding of the stream by such upstream reservoirs as Brownlee and Oxbow.

But for the white sturgeon of the Snake, this wild stretch of river is about the only thing between it and extinction. They too have been in a general decline and this year both Oregon and Idaho moved to give them full protection there by banning their removal from the stream. As early as 1933, Herbert Sheldon Lampman, reporter for The Oregonian and wild life authority, observed that the sturgeon fisheries of the Columbia system were virtually extinct and that "... few of these fish of any great size remain." Truly they are a fish of another age and their physical characteristics have changed little in many thousands of years. Though unrelated to sharks, they possess such general similarities as a cartilaginous skeleton (rather than bone), a sickle-shaped tail, and



bony, plate-like scales. The sturgeon's tube-like mouth is placed low for sweeping aquatic organisms from the river's bed. Thus, free-flowing water such as the Snake are required both for spawning and feeding.

The article continues:

As yet, salmon and steelhead fishing is still fairly good in the Middle Snake area. Wild, it remains the most productive of the Columbia's tributaries. Recreational pastimes such as camping, sightseeing, rockhounding, hiking and related pursuits are growing rapidly in this, the last truly wild section of the Snake River. Last year's (1969) data showed a minimum of 50,100 recreational man-days enjoyed in the wild Hells Canyon area.

Collectively, the Middle Snake, with its tributaries the Salmon, Imnaha, and Grande Ronde Rivers and others embodies perhaps the finest and most varied attributes of any wild rivers system in the country. As such it will become increasingly valuable in the years to come.

#### TRANSPORTATION

With 90 miles of the Snake River navigable from Lewiston upstream to Johnson Bar, access to this rugged gorge is easiest by water. Transportation choices are between the 48-foot mail-and-passenger craft "Idaho Queen" and a number of smaller but faster jet boats.

The only real streamside and road runs from Lewiston to the mouth of the Grande Ronde River. Two other roads lead to the Middle Snake, one connecting White Bird, Idaho, with Pittsburgh Landing; and the other Imnaha, Ore., with Dug Bar. Both roads will be improved under the National Rivers Program for the Snake.

Farther upstream another road used in building the Low Hells Canyon Dam leads downstream past Brownlee and Oxbow dams and is reached from either Baker, Ore., or Cambridge, Idaho.

Hiking trails traverse nearly 50 miles of the Middle Snake, with numerous spurs branching off into side canyons and often switchbacking upward to the canyon rim. Other trails lead from the heights of Idaho's Seven Devils Mountains to the riverside and may be hiked one way in a day.

Additional trails, campsites, boat ramps and recreational areas will be built under the National Rivers Program which will eventually make the area more accessible.

#### TAKE THE BLINDERS OFF THE CONSUMER

**HON. CHARLES H. WILSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, whenever an average housewife enters the local supermarket she is virtually blindfolded in terms of her being able to accurately determine the newness or freshness of the foods available for her selection. This situation is due to the fact that the important information regarding "shelf life" or freshness of a product is contained in a secret code known only to the store managers and frequently changed to prevent deciphering by concerned consumers.

I cannot imagine any logical reason why food store chains should be determined to hide the freshness of foods unless it is to facilitate the practice of marketing old food which should have been pulled from the shelves. According to my colleague from New York (Mr.

FARBSTEIN), this practice is apparently very widespread. In a survey which was recently conducted in various food stores, Congressman FARBSTEIN and others discovered widespread availability of unfit, outdated food on many shelves. Although this situation is believed to be more prevalent among ghetto area stores, it can be found in other areas as well.

Bearing these facts in mind, I am sponsoring the bill to require the final date that food can be kept on a grocer's shelves to appear on the labels of all perishable and semi-perishable foods, as originally introduced by Congressman FARBSTEIN. I believe this legislation is necessary and desirable, particularly in areas where disadvantaged citizens seem to face an endless array of practices designed to give the least while demanding the most. That this situation played a role in the urban riots of recent years is now obvious to all who have studied the subject.

In a society as affluent as ours, where we pay huge sums of money to persuade farmers to grow less, it seems to me that there can be little reason to market anything but foods clearly certified as being fresh and safe. We need no codes or secrets which can be used to bilk or dupe the unknowing consumer; instead, we need more protection for the consumer to assure that when he or she pays today's high prices for food, the purchases will be worth these prices. And if there is to be an outlet for food which is old but still safe, let it be not at an equal or inflated price, as has been discovered more than once in ghetto neighborhoods, but at special, reduced rates.

#### JUSTICE FOR THE MAN IN UNIFORM

**HON. MARIO BIAGGI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to commend my colleagues who joined with me to introduce the Military Justice Commission bill, H.R. 16816, which I introduced earlier to provide an effective and impartial mechanism for grievance appeal in the military.

Mr. BINGHAM, Mr. DADDARIO, Mr. FRASER, Mr. GILBERT, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. HARRINGTON, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. KOCH, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. LOWENSTEIN, Mr. MEEDS, Mr. MOOREHEAD, Mr. MOSS, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. PODELL, Mr. VANIK, and Mr. VIGORITO have made a significant contribution to the cause of justice for the man in uniform.

In 1950, the Congress of the United States established the Uniform Code of Military Justice to insure the protection of individual rights and the administration of justice for the American serviceman and to prevent the possible abuse of punitive power assigned to the military forces.

Under the Uniform Code of Military Justice, a complete judicial system for U.S. servicemen is established. Within its

provisions, military courts are required to function under the same basic concept underlying our Federal and State courts—to protect a person from possible infringements of constitutional rights.

This concept clearly assigns to the Armed Forces a primary responsibility; to safeguard its members from certain abuses which are expressly prohibited by the Constitution including the right to present grievances and to be protected against discriminatory treatment because of race, color, or religion.

Yet, although these safeguards and rights are seemingly guaranteed our men in uniform, the lack of an effective and fair system of grievance appeal in the Uniform Code of Military Justice makes the daily violation of these constitutional safeguards a travesty on justice.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE PRESENT GRIEVANCE SYSTEM

The inadequacy of the sole existing grievance appeal provision of the code becomes blatantly apparent upon first reading:

Any member of the Armed Forces who believes himself wronged by his commanding officer, and who upon due application to that commanding officer, is refused redress, may complain to any superior commissioned officer, who shall forward the complaint to the officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction over the officer against whom it is made. The officer exercising general court-martial jurisdiction shall examine into the complaint and take proper measures for redressing the wrong complained of; and he shall, as soon as possible, send to the Secretary concerned a true statement of that complaint, with the proceedings had thereon. (Sec. 938, Title 10, U.S.C.)

While such procedure may suffice in routine cases of personnel assignments, leaves or other administrative matters, in regard to matters involving brutality, maltreatment and serious abridgment of human and constitutional rights, the section leaves much to be desired and may even present a serious roadblock to the redress of such grievances. Obviously, directing a grievance of this type, which may realistically involve a whole chain of command, to one's commanding officer smacks of one-sidedness and is somewhat devoid of the all-important element of impartiality. Such a system of appeal through the military chain of command is an affront to the due process concept extended to the American people by the Constitution. As such, experience has shown that it has failed as a legitimate and impartial avenue of complaints of wrongs for the man in uniform.

Through a series of personal investigations of military stockade conditions, tours of inspections at several bases and direct interviews with aggrieved servicemen, I have been able to verify that the abridgment of fundamental human rights for our servicemen at the hands

<sup>1</sup> A civilian, upon entering the Military Service, gives up the right to a trial upon presentment and indictment of a grand jury under the Fifth Amendment; the right to bail under the Eighth Amendment; and is granted only limited free speech under the First Amendment. However, the Congress, the Military and the Court of Appeals have traditionally held that most all of the protections of the Constitution granted to civilians by the Bill of Rights should be extended to servicemen.

of their superiors has been a serious problem in our armed services for many years.

Evidence I have been able to gather concerning cases of racial disorders, brutality, inhumane treatment and living conditions and even the loss of life occurring across our Nation, has cogently emphasized the need for an effective and impartial mechanism for the redress of serious grievances presented by our servicemen.

#### RACIAL DISORDER

Specifically, an outbreak of racial disorder at Camp Lejeune on July 20, 1969, an event I personally investigated, resulted in the death of a 20-year-old marine hero from Mississippi who had returned from Vietnam only to die in a racial brawl from injuries suffered after he was clubbed into unconsciousness. The fact that this young marine had been awarded three purple hearts for combat wounds inflicted by the enemy in Vietnam, highlights the irony of this unfortunate occurrence.

My inquiries revealed that between January 1 and the first week of August of that year, the camp provost marshal had received reports of 190 assaults on Camp Lejeune marines in nearby town of Jacksonville.

These complaints made by servicemen prior to the incident were virtually disregarded because both officers and enlisted men were reluctant to admit that racial problems existed at their base. Other complaints made by servicemen regarding racial friction and discrimination were found to rarely progress beyond the company level with little corrective action taken.

Had a legitimate and effective avenue of grievance appeal existed, a proper and impartial investigation of the complaints could have been made and the racial disorders at Camp Lejeune could have been avoided.

#### INHUMANE STOCKADE CONDITIONS

Another area in which rights of servicemen have been often abridged concerns the brutal and inhumane treatment of prisoners and servicemen. Amendment VIII of the Constitution specifically prohibits cruel and inhuman punishment of prisoners, and section 893 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice also prohibits oppression and maltreatment of military personnel by their superiors. Nevertheless, my personal investigation of stockade and living conditions, as well as training techniques in the military revealed case after case of abuse, brutality, inhumanity and racial and ethnic maltreatment of enlisted men.

Official reports from Camp Pendleton, Calif., indicate that the commanding general publicly admitted that brig guards were brutally maltreating stockade prisoners and that prisoners were living in what he termed "primitive" conditions.

My personal visits and inspections at Camp Dix revealed much the same situation in that stockade system. The unsanitary living conditions and the treatment accorded their prisoners were shocking and outright shameful.

One aspect of that investigation clearly reveals how implementation of policy can

border on outright sadism. This involves the use of a prescribed disciplinary measure in which a reduction in daily food intake is instituted for days at a time as a means of punishment.

Although military regulations expressly forbid the maintenance of such "disciplinary diets" for periods longer than 2 weeks, the depositions I have on file taken directly from stockade prisoners indicate that starvation diets for prisoners in military stockades for unbelievably long periods of time are a common practice.

Consequently, these practices can only be considered clear cases of unwarranted implementation of prescribed policies in direct violation not only of military regulations but of article VIII of the Constitution.

#### ETHNIC MALTREATMENT

In another disturbing case medical testimony and physical evidence showed that severe ethnic maltreatment by drill instructors in the Marine Corps led to the psychological breakdown of a recruit at Parris Island. On my recommendation, charges against a drill instructor involved in this instance have been made by the Marine Corps—and it now appears that a number of similar charges had been filed against this same drill instructor in other unrelated cases.

#### SUSPICIOUS DEATHS

Not all of my investigations involved direct interviews and statements from victims of abuse. In one instance, my efforts to determine the actual cause of death of a young marine private, found dead under highly suspicious circumstances after he had repeatedly written home that he was being beaten and abused by his training sergeant, led me to the courts for an order to exhume his body for examination and autopsy.

Only because of the advanced state of deterioration due to poor embalming procedures, was I unable to prove conclusively that he had been the victim of physical violence. In this case as in the others, no means to confidently voice his fears to a relevant body was available to the victim.

One can readily understand that, in view of the narrowly defined provisions of the code for the presentation of grievances now available to our servicemen, instances of such serious proportions as the ones I described leave little desire to file appeals to a commanding officer under the "complaints of wrongs" section. Therefore, in my judgment, not only does the temper of our times dictate a change in military grievance procedure, but the very salvation of our military system demands the establishment of an impartial system of appeal in the military.

Armed with this mass of disturbing evidence, I introduced the Military Justice Commission bill in order to provide our servicemen with the judicial machinery for a realistic, workable, and impartial system of grievance appeal in certain specified areas.

#### WHAT THE MILITARY JUSTICE COMMISSION BILL DOES

Specifically, this bill would prohibit unsafe and unfit penal facilities in the military. The brutal treatment of mili-

tary personnel in stockades, or any brutal treatment or mistreatment of one military member to another would be prohibited, and enforced by the Commission. Section 893 of Title 10 of the United States Code prohibiting oppression or maltreatment to military subordinates has been largely ineffective and ineffectual in practice.

The Military Justice Commission would also determine any case which might be deemed to be a denial of the constitutional rights of American servicemen.

In effect, this bill would provide a broad, multilevel grievance system in the military for serious grievances, assuring our military personnel fair and equitable consideration of their complaints. Two pronged in its approach, the Commission would have the authority to periodically investigate military bases in order to insure compliance with the provisions of the act. This provision would protect those who, out of fear or intimidation might fail to file reports of grievances with the Commission.

#### THE MILITARY JUSTICE COMMISSION

The bill establishes a Military Justice Commission composed of 11 members appointed by the President, five of whom would represent each branch of the military forces, five would be appointed from the civilian judiciary, and an 11th would in turn be recommended by the Commission members for approval by the President to serve as the Commission Chairman.

The Commission would also have an investigative division under the direction of a general counsel appointed by the President. Together with a staff of experts, the general counsel would be responsible for the receipt, investigation, and preparation of all complaints and to make appropriate recommendations to the Commission for trial.

Authorized to issue cease and desist orders, the Commission would also be assigned certain defined punitive powers in those cases heard before it and determined to be in violation of the provisions of the act.

#### THE U.S. COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS

The bill also calls for the creation of a U.S. Court of Military Grievance as an appellate court for the cases decided by the Commission. Comprised of three civilian judges appointed by the President, this court would hear cases automatically referred to it by the Military Justice Commission or which it would agree to review upon petition from either party to the action.

While the jurisdiction of the Commission would be carefully defined, any violations coming to its attention, found to be outside of its jurisdiction, would be referred to the appropriate judicial tribunal or agency for adjudication.

#### JUSTICE FOR THE MAN IN UNIFORM

Complete justice for the man in uniform is long overdue. His human and constitutional rights have too long been trampled on for want of a fair and impartial system of grievance appeal. It is strikingly obvious that while tactics and technology are constantly under revision in the military, personnel, and judicial policies have not kept pace with the de-



velopment of human concepts. As a result, morale, pride and honor in our armed services has steadily declined.

Mr. Speaker, the military justice system I propose could help restore military service to the proud and honorable status it so rightfully deserves. However, basic to this task is the recognition of the fundamental truth that—"When we assumed the soldier we did not lay aside the citizen."

#### VIETNAM WAR

### HON. LEONARD FARBSTAIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. FARBSTAIN. Mr. Speaker, American young men have been fighting and dying in Vietnam for over 6 years. The only tangible result of our involvement has been to prop up an unpopular military regime, which suppresses the opposition press and jails democratic political opponents.

I see no purpose for our continuing to remain in Vietnam. All American troops should be removed by the end of the year. Nor should we permit ourselves to get involved in any wider conflict embarrassing Laos or Cambodia. To permit such a development, I have introduced House Joint Resolution 1103, which repeals the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, so widely interpreted as a blank check to the executive to pursue military adventure.

In this context, the board of the Emanu-El, a member agency of the Associated Young Men-Women Hebrew Association of Greater New York recently adopted a resolution calling for prompt curtailment of U.S. military involvement in South Vietnam and for a rapid acceleration of the withdrawal of all American troops from South Vietnam.

The text of the letter and resolution follows:

EMANU-EL MIDTOWN,  
New York, N.Y., March 25, 1970.

HON. LEONARD FARBSTAIN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FARBSTAIN: I would like to draw your attention to a Resolution adopted at a recent Board meeting by the Board of Directors of the Emanu-El Midtown YM-YWHA—

Whereas, the prolonged military involvement of the United States in the war in South Viet Nam has resulted in the death of and injury to numerous Americans and in the disruption of countless American lives, and has diverted needed funds and leadership from pressing domestic needs; and

Whereas, the continuation of United States military involvement in South Viet Nam is a matter of unique and historic significance to the nation, requiring that responsible community leaders make their view on continued United States involvement known to persons in a position to effect the future course of United States action;

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the Board of Directors of Emanu-El Midtown YM-YWHA, acting by a majority vote thereof, does hereby express its urgent desire for a prompt curtailment of the United States military involvement in South Viet Nam and for a rapid acceleration of the withdrawal

of all American troops from South Viet Nam and be it

Resolved, that the President of Emanu-El Midtown YM-YWHA be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to forward a copy of these preambles and resolutions to the President of the United States, Senators Jacob K. Javits and Charles E. Goodell, Congressmen Leonard Farbstain and Edward I. Koch, and to such other public officials as he may deem appropriate.

Sincerely yours,

ALFRED L. PLANT,  
President.

### DR. GEORGE A. GULLETTE

### HON. ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I want to take a moment of the House's time today to mourn the death of Dr. George A. Gullette, founder and head of the department of social studies at North Carolina State University. Few men so embodied what is best of America; accordingly, few men are so deeply missed by those who knew them and are so deserving of the salute of this House. I was lucky enough to be among those who worked for and with him, and now I find myself thinking how much better this land would be if this gentle, wise and good man could have touched everyone in it.

George Gullette was the ecumenical American, diverse and compassionate, at home in the libraries, the living rooms, and the out of doors of New England, the Middle West, and the South. He was a dedicated man, but free of the little meannesses that mar so many dedicated men, and, perhaps even more remarkable, a complex and profoundly literate man incapable of guile. He bridged generations as he bridged races and regions. He pioneered in education and stood for high principle in trying circumstances, and he managed to live serene through the storms that pioneers and men of principle must weather. He loved his fellow men, his country, his profession, and his university; and he did more for each than most of us could have done for any.

Above all, he was a family man in times when families are fading, and our hearts and prayers are with his marvelous wife and their children and grandchildren during these difficult months. We can have only an inkling of the dimensions of their loss, but knowing how great ours is, we wonder at their strength in bearing theirs.

I include at this point in the RECORD the eulogy given by North Carolina State Chancellor John T. Caldwell at the memorial service for Dr. Gullette.

I am also including in the RECORD a lecture given by Dr. Gullette on January 13, 1969. It was the introductory lecture to a course in contemporary issues and a fine illustration of the wisdom, commitment, and good humor with which he sought to guide his students through these troubled times.

The material follows:

#### DR. GEORGE A. GULLETTE

We are here to honor George Gullette. For 60 years he trod this planet and for the last 22 years was a vital intellectual force in this university.

Present today are Mrs. Gullette and their daughter, Sarah and son, David and other members of George's family. Present are friends from the community, but the largest number are the colleagues and friends who are members of the university. Altogether the assembled company knew one facet or another of his rich personality. Husband, father, brother, son, son-in-law, teacher, scholar, thinker, friend, administrator, consultant, adviser, leader—to all these roles he brought affection, integrity, wit, humor, and faithfulness. George Gullette was not a man to come up short.

I would not presume to speak of George Gullette as a husband beyond stating the obvious, that he was devoted. But I have been given some insights into his role as a father. He was a close friend to his children, not an authority figure. There was no generation gap between him and his children. He was a companion to their growth and development, and the differences were only those of greater maturity, larger perspective, and more experience. But these were not obtrusive. They were merely present to enrich the friendship.

Material things were never an end in themselves for George. Beauty and art, yes, but nothing for show. The first car in the family, a 1947 DeSoto, made more than one family trip a glorious experience. The car was only what it is supposed to be, a vehicle.

George Gullette was brought to North Carolina State University in 1947 to inaugurate and develop a program of education for engineers in the humanities. He saw that engineers and scientists were extraordinarily important people in the society and being important people would be more valuable for having been in contact with humanistic learning and experience. With Matthew Arnold, George Gullette believed that as far as possible human beings of each generation should experience intellectually "the best that has been thought and said." His own home and formal education had done this for him in abundant measure. A scholar in English, devoted to Milton, he had studied at Harvard, at Vanderbilt, and at the University of Michigan. The insights and joys, the ideals and the values he had found in the thoughts of great men he treasured for every student.

He was an old-fashioned humanist. He believed in the relevancy of tradition, of beauty, and of order. He believed in the relevancy of past struggles by mankind. But in no sense did he desire or seek to avoid the immediate problems of human life. The Contemporary Issues course was one evidence of his lively concern for the improvement of human life here and now. He was no dogmatist at all. The kind of people he brought into his program with differing ideas, varying backgrounds, different personalities all spoke to his own breadth of thinking. He pursued the notion of the unity of knowledge.

Friends and family knew him as an incorrigible punster. Joking and wit were a part of this lively man. This occasion today is not a happy one, friends, by any stretch of the imagination, but it need not be solemn. His son David relates that when his father came to visit him in Italy, the punster came forth with this choice one: "Be it ever so rubble, there's no place like Rome." His friends tolerated such creations, some better, some worse, for indeed there was no choice!

David tells me that the City of Florence had a special hold on his father. He relates that he drove his father to Florence by a sort of back road on a cloudy, gray day, but that upon reaching the Piazzala Michelangelo, the

clouds broke to reveal a blue sky and that the sun came down through the rain-clean air to bathe this magnificent and elegant square in an incomparable light. His father was overcome with the magnificence and broke into tears. Here was the humanist, a student of Milton, the lover of learning and beauty, experiencing almost too much of a dream.

Well, he was a fillet of fish; he was a pro-football fan. But first a teacher, with everything else fitting into that role in his life.

#### PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE—THE NEXT 25 YEARS

(Lecture by Dr. George A. Gullette)

The subject I am asked to address myself to today is "Prospects for the Future—the Next Twenty-five Years." In a very real sense you who are members of this class are the ones who should be making this talk since what happens to the country and to the world in the next twenty-five years depends much more upon what you do than upon what I say. Twenty-five years from now it will be 1994 and, if the actuaries are right, I will be pushing up daisies somewhere. You, on the other hand, will be forty-six years old, at the height of your career and earning power—and a mighty good thing that will be since you will have two children in college and, unless you have been able to do something about the rising costs of education, you will need all the earning power you can get.

But while the future does indeed depend more upon you than upon me, there is something to be said for drawing on the experience of my generation when trying to discern the shape of things to come. Irvin S. Cobb, a now forgotten American writer, once said, "The trouble with the younger generation is that it hasn't read the minutes of the last meeting." Conversely, of course, you may argue that the trouble with my generation is that it gets so bogged down in the minutes of the last meeting that it neglects the business of the present one. I claim, however, a special right to speak on this subject that is not available to all members of the older generation. We in my profession have an advantage that you who briefly pass through the University must only dimly visualize. It is this: while we as individuals do indeed age according to the inexorable laws of nature, we still remain, throughout our lives, in daily contact with students of exactly the same age. I for one have been dealing with the 18-22 age group since long before you were born. I am not in the same position as your fathers who were once 21 but who can now only dimly remember what it was like. Whatever my age, I am daily reminded of what it means to be 21—and I have the additional dividend of knowing (at least from the outside) what it meant to be 21 during the Great Depression, during World War II, during the Korean War, and during Vietnam. At any rate, let us not quarrel about who should speak. I have the floor, and I hope you will let me try to put into words my sense of what is going on now, especially in your generation, and what that means for the future.

You have just lived through a momentous year, one that I predict you will look back on in 1994 as a major turning point in the affairs of this country and of the world. It was a year that saw the shocking assassinations of two of our ablest public figures, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Senator Robert F. Kennedy. It was a year that saw the President of the United States in effect step down from office, largely, I think, because we made him a scapegoat for one of the unhappiest wars in our history. It was a year in which we were treated to the unedifying spectacle of Mayor Daley's police beating up young people who had gathered to protest what they regarded as a rigged political conven-

tion. But it was also a year that saw Vietnam peace talks get under way, however slowly; it was a year of American triumphs in the Olympic Games, and it was a year that ended with three Americans calmly orbiting the moon, a feat that would have been unthinkable a generation ago.

But I predict that from your vantage point twenty-five years hence, you will look back on 1968 for a reason much less spectacular but much more profound than any of these. Put briefly, I think you will look back upon it as the year in which Americans, and notably your generation of Americans, began to reassert control over their own destinies. Let me be specific: In this course we have for years had to combat a general student apathy based upon the usually unspoken conviction that our institutions, both public and private, have grown so large and so remote that no individual citizen can have any influence upon them. Sure we got problems, the attitude has been, but what can I do about them? And if I can't do anything about them, it doesn't make sense for me to study them or worry my head about them.

Before indicating what I think has happened to change this attitude, let me make clear that the attitude was not confined to the young but was shared by most of the rest of us. You will have learned from your reading in this course that one of the toughest obstacles to progress in the ghetto is the sense of alienation in its dwellers, the sense that they are outside looking in, and that there isn't much they can do about it. The result has traditionally been a kind of apathy, a kind of fatalistic acceptance of their condition in life as inevitable. And if you were not only poor, but black to boot, things were pretty hopeless. Your destiny was in someone else's hands, and you were powerless to control it.

Incidentally, this sense of hopelessness was what led in the old South to the "Yassah, Massah!" kind of Negro, now called an Uncle Tom, and to a style of life so relaxed and devil-may-care that it lent encouragement to the white stereotype of the Negro—and by extension all of the poor—as lazy and irresponsible. If they were underprivileged, as they undoubtedly were, it was obviously their own fault. If they became the serfs of the South, as of course they did, it was because they deserved no better. To entertain any other notion—to suggest that perhaps the cards were stacked against them—was not merely to violate our comforting belief that they really were inferior but to challenge the even more precious conviction that we ourselves were what we were because we are basically superior. If the cards were stacked against them, it follows that they were stacked in favor of us, and this hypothesis few WASPS could tolerate.

But I have still another example to add to that of the young and the blacks, of groups who have been bullied into a disillusioning acceptance of the drab inevitability of their role in society: the predominantly white, well-to-do, middle-class suburbanites. Since the end of World War II, they had fled the terror and the taxes of the central city and sought the good life for themselves and their children in the split-level mediocrity of mass-produced Levittowns. Unlike their black brethren who swarmed to fill the vacuum in the city that their departure had created, they were not overtly oppressed, but they soon found a servitude almost as bad—they were bored to death! And so were their children and their wives. Juvenile delinquency rates shot up not only in the crowded ghettos but in the supposedly secure and well-heeled suburbs. And like the young and the black, the suburbanite felt that forces over which he had no control were closing in on him. Inadequate rapid transit and crowded freeways impeded his movement to and from his office in the smog-filled city.

I visit occasionally a former colleague who taught in this department for some ten years before being wooed away to the bright lights of New York. He commutes daily from his beautiful but overpriced home in Westport, Connecticut, to his office on Fifth Avenue. He leaves his house at 7:45 in the morning and does not return until about a quarter of seven in the evening. He spends a minimum of three hours each day just getting to and from work. And he too feels that the conditions of his life are in someone else's control. He has no options: he either takes the dirty, noisy, crowded New Haven and Hartford commuter train every day or he is out of work. He makes more money than he did when he taught here with us in Raleigh; but he needs it. He spends as much each year on transportation alone as it used to cost him for State of North Carolina income taxes.

Well, I have cited three groups in our society—the young, the black, and the suburbanites—who have not only found that the good life in our affluent society has somehow eluded them but share a sense of helplessness, who feel that vague impersonal forces beyond their control shape their destinies and determine their circumstances.

But I have said that in 1968 I saw signs of change, signs that all of these groups were beginning to assert their rights to human dignity and self-determination. I think you will agree that credit must go to the Negro—and long before 1968—for starting it. First in the courts, then on the streets, mostly peacefully but sometimes violently, he has been declaring that he too is an American citizen entitled to all the rights and privileges thereunto appertaining. Some day, in your slipped old age, you will be able to tell your grandchildren what it was like to live through one of the greatest social revolutions in the history of man.

The suburbanite, too, is showing signs of rebellion. In times of trouble, everyone wants a change. In the last election, most Americans voted for Nixon, not, I think, because they believed he was another Jefferson or Lincoln, but because they wanted a change, and he represented the best practical chance they could see to get one. Many others, especially in this part of the country, voted for George Wallace, who represented a change toward the past rather than the future. But the most surprising development of the year, for my money, was the support given to Eugene McCarthy by the suburbs. They represented the backbone of his voter strength.

An this brings me to you and to this generation of college students. It was you and young people like you throughout the country who dramatized for us the fact that seemingly distant and impersonal forces are indeed human and subject to human pressures. A year ago this time Johnson and the military-industrial complex seemed firmly in the saddle, yet by March 31st he was announcing that he would not seek renomination. What happened? I can tell you one of the things that happened. A former member of this department, Allard K. Lowenstein, persuaded Senator Eugene McCarthy to run for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. The first big test came in the New Hampshire primary. Mr. Lowenstein and the other youthful amateurs who staffed the McCarthy drive appealed to college students to come to New Hampshire to help. They not only came but they came in such numbers that at the height of the campaign state highway patrolmen were turning back busload after busload of them at the state border because the McCarthy organization was unable to accommodate any more of them. So successful were these young college students that McCarthy won the primary handily and upset virtually all the political forecasters in the country. Since one of McCarthy's chief appeals lay in his direct challenge to the Administration's Vietnam policies, most ob-



servers agree that the New Hampshire victory was instrumental in persuading Johnson not to seek renomination himself but instead to devote his full energies to the task of finding an honorable, peaceful settlement.

Several things about this display of youthful energy and enthusiasm should be noted. First of all, the action was taken within the established political framework. This was not a third-party protest movement, but an attempt to seize, through the ballot box, control of the party then in power. These were not the Yippies or the extremist demonstrators but middle-class students from the best and most expensive Eastern colleges. Those of them who had grown beards made, in New Hampshire, the ultimate sacrifice: they shaved them off, in order to compromise their appeal to an essentially conservative electorate. Greater love hath no man . . .

Many of you here undoubtedly disagree with the stand on Vietnam taken by McCarthy and these students, and many people, on second thought, have begun to wonder out loud whether McCarthy would not have been a disaster as President. But this is beside the point, at least for our purpose here today. The point is that these college students of your generation demonstrated, not only in New Hampshire but later in Wisconsin, Indiana, Oregon, and California that the political institutions of this country are not so distant and impersonal as to be impregnable. Sure, the students lost in the end, with a powerful assist from the Daley machine in Chicago; but they learned that young people can organize and exert tremendous pressures upon the centers of power in this country. This is a lesson they will not forget, and I predict that you will hear from them again.

Do you realize that at this very moment over half the population of this country is under 25? Whatever else may be said of the generation gap, you of the younger generation have the rest of us outnumbered, and in a democracy that in the long run will be decisive.

But what I have said so far about young people beginning to reassert control over their own destinies is but a prologue to the major matters I want to discuss with you today, and that is the student unrest in our colleges and universities. No one on this campus has as yet seized Holladay Hall or smashed the IBM machine that provides you with those lovely schedules. To tell you the truth, I don't even know where the thing is—and if I did, I wouldn't tell you! But regardless of what has or has not happened here, your generation of college students has made itself heard on campuses from Columbia to Berkeley, from Wisconsin to San Francisco State. Let me remind you, as we begin to ask what is behind it all, what it is that students are demanding, that strangely similar riots and demonstrations have occurred at the University of Paris, the University of Rome, the University of Warsaw, and believe it or not, the University of Moscow. The unrest, then, appears to be world-wide, and this should make you pause before asserting that it is the draft, or the Pentagon, or Dow Chemical, or Vietnam in general that is at the root of it all.

Well, what is it all about then? There are countless local and surface issues, of course. Howard University in Washington is predominantly black, and when I visited there last year I was told that the president and the dean had been hanged in effigy at least once a week since the beginning of school in the Fall. Both the president and the dean were black, so obviously there were more local and personal matters involved than race. Later, buildings were seized and there was some rough stuff, ostensibly about ROTC requirements, but I gathered while I was there that the real gripe was about the draft, which, like the rest of Whitey's institutions, they felt discriminated against them. It was not only at Howard, however, that there appeared to be racial overtones

to the rioting. Race was involved in most of the riots at predominately white institutions, notably Columbia, Berkeley, and San Francisco State. But this was clearly not an issue at Paris or Rome or Warsaw; so I have concluded that while racial tension has indeed been a major element in American demonstrations, it is not the fundamental matter.

There have been many other surface issues, more or less important depending on local circumstances. These have ranged from curfew hours for coeds to cafeterias and curricula. In our own university I suppose the speaker-ban law came as close as anything to causing serious confrontation, and I expect that it was only the fact that the university administration was on the same side as the students that prevented campus rioting.

As I try to sift out for myself the gut issues, they seem to me more and more to center around student demands for more control over their own lives, their own education, their own destinies. Whether it is a demand for a greater part in curriculum planning, selection of faculty, or admissions policy, the note they sound in common seems to me the same: We don't want to be pushed around! We want to have a hand in determining our own futures.

If I am right about this, it involves something deeper and more fundamental than the traditional struggle of youth for independent manhood. The slogan "Trust no one over 30" strikes deeper than the usual youth-versus-age debate. It represents, I think, a repudiation of the whole value system associated (rightly or wrongly) with the older generation. And this means the anti-humane, buck-loving, materialistic world we have given you.

Your generation, if I dig you right, seems to be saying to mine that you take seriously our pious protestations of idealism—our belief in human dignity, our belief in humane values such as compassion and understanding, our longing for peace and an end of fear in the world. But, you say, it's all talk. We talk human dignity, but give you racism. We talk compassion and understanding, but won't even feed the children in our own country in the midst of prosperity. We talk peace and give you war. And so you conclude that we are hypocrites and that it is time for you to start forcing us to put our money where our mouths are. This is the message I get from the student revolts, and if this is indeed what you are trying to say I can only tell you that I am mighty proud of you and I wish you well.

Let me tell you though that if you are indeed seeking goals something like those I have outlined, you have your work cut out for you. Men of good will have been seeking peace for thousands of years, but have found it only fleetingly. Moreover, in seeking peace you must grapple with problems man has never before faced. You must find peace in a time when science and technology have provided us with weapons of total destruction. You must seek understanding in a world where modern medicine has so lowered the death rate that the population is growing by a million and a half human beings every week. You must find common cause with members of your generation in Paris and Rome and Moscow and Peking and Mexico City and Havana at a time when jealous nationalism is stronger than it has ever been. You must face the brute fact that the gap between the rich nations and the poor nations is not narrowing but widening at a frightening rate. It is science and technology that are responsible for this growing chasm between the haves and the have nots, both in the world at large and here at home. Can you devise ways to insure that science and technology are used to reverse the process, that they are used to narrow the gap, not widen it?

I hope so. You are beginning to learn that giant institutions like government and busi-

ness and education can indeed be forced to change direction. They are not monsters with lives of their own; they are man-made institutions run by fallible men no better and no worse than yourselves. But if the experience of your generation is like the experience of mine you will find that changing giant institutions, however formidable the task may seem at first, is child's play compared to the task of changing men's minds. You have seen in your brief lifetimes that we can change the laws regarding race and change the patterns of education; but to change the inbred racism that is in men's minds is another matter. That will take time, and the facts of life will compel your generation, as they compelled mine, to temper your idealism and your enthusiasm with patience. At least a part of the glaring discrepancy between the talk and the accomplishment of my generation is accounted for by the slowness with which men, even men of good will, alter their most deeply held beliefs.

Let me conclude by making my safest prediction of the day about the future: Within the next ten years most of you in this room will be over thirty, and the younger generation will not trust you either. So if you have anything important to say or do, take it from one of the older generation: you'd better get at it in a hurry. You will be reading your own minutes of the last meeting before you know it.

#### RAILROAD UNION UNANIMITY?

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, since I have stated elsewhere in the Record my opposition to House Joint Resolution 1124, which was passed here yesterday on a voice vote, the purpose of these remarks is to express my puzzlement and wonder over some elements of the discussion that preceded the action. I am referring particularly to the statements I heard about the alleged general unanimity of the involved labor unions in the memorandum of understanding promulgated last December between those unions and railroad management.

The point was made that the machinists, electricians, and boilermakers supported the agreement, with only the sheet metal workers dissenting. The inference, of course, was that the latter group was the dog in the manger, standing alone against the other three union organizations and resisting an orderly settlement of their mutual problem.

The reason this insinuation provokes me is that while I listened to such statements uttered here, I held in my pocket a joint resolution from the members of all four unions in Barstow, Calif., expressing their united stand against the proposed compulsory arbitration making the terms of the December agreement final. The representatives of these same four unions in other areas of my 33d Congressional District stated their concurrence with the language of the resolution, the text of which follows the conclusion of my remarks for the review of our colleagues.

It is neither my desire nor intention to stand between the membership of these labor unions and their leadership here, but I do detect an apparent lack of

communications which we also saw evidence of recently in another labor dispute with national ramifications. I am, therefore, forced to wonder who we should listen to when matters of this nature come before us.

The text of the resolution follows:

#### RESOLUTION

Subject: Railroad Shop Crafts wage and rules dispute 1969-1970

Whereas; The shop crafts representing National organizations have been engaged in 16 months of fruitless negotiations, and

Whereas; Congress intervened in the dispute freezing shopmen to their jobs for another 37 days,

Whereas; the Nations Railroads are demanding that Congress pass a Compulsory Arbitration law to make the terms of the December 4, 1969 tentative agreement final,

Whereas; the Incidental work rule as stated in this agreement is but an underhanded attempt by the Railroads to make composite mechanics of its shop craft employees,

Whereas; the application of this Incidental work rule will in time cause the eventual elimination of many of our craftsmen,

Whereas; there are presently some 90 individual Railroads with an Incidental work rule clause in their respective agreements allowing incidental work at intermediate points, but not at running maintenance shops where each craft is represented,

Therefore be it resolved that the undersigned Local Labor organizations wish to settle their own dispute without Government intervention, Grant us the right of free Americans, to strike the Railroads as now exercised by other workers in the transportation industry in the United States. The right to strike will settle the dispute in very short order.

Verbatim of existing Incidental work rule agreement between the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company and System Federation No. 97.

#### WORK INCIDENTAL TO RUNNING REPAIRS— RULE 49

(a) On running repairs, Mechanics or Apprentices of any craft, may, in emergency, perform such operations as disconnecting or connecting wiring, coupling or pipe connections when done in connection with the performance of their own work.

(b) Nothing in this agreement shall be construed to prevent stationary engineers and firemen or engineers, firemen and operators of roadway equipment and machines, pumpers or coal chute employees from making minor repairs to equipment they operate incidental to the continuous operation of stationary powerplants, roadway equipment, pumping equipment or coal chute machinery.

Memo No. 1: The word "emergency" as used in this rule is not to be construed to cover such work as is performed in shops or enginehouse or on repair tracks, but refers to "emergencies" that exist at wrecks or intermediate points where engines or cars are passing through, or on outgoing tracks or at terminals to avoid delay.

#### ACTION ON THE DRUG CRISIS

**HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY**  
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, recently I have commented on the grave

drug crisis which is affecting New York City, New York State, and a number of the other communities throughout our Nation. I pointed out that the deaths and the illnesses connected with the use of drugs often is as great as that of a national calamity, such as a hurricane or flood. I have urged both President Nixon and Governor Rockefeller to declare New York City a disaster area under the provisions of the Federal Disaster Act. If this action is taken, additional Federal funds would be available on an immediate basis for use in detecting, apprehending, and treating drug addicts. Only the Federal Government has the financial resources that can be made immediately available for this purpose. It is now up to Governor Rockefeller to take the necessary steps to request this aid.

I also suggested a number of other steps that the Federal Government could take to stop the flow of dangerous hard drugs into our country. One of these measures concerns the Department of State and the actions it can take to insure that the sources of hard drugs in other countries are shut down.

I was pleased to see in a speech by Under Secretary Elliot Richardson on April 2 that the Department of State is launching a special effort along those lines. Secretary Richardson has indicated that it will increase the number of officers working on narcotics problems in other countries in the very near future. Thirty-six new officers will be permanently assigned abroad to join those already there. These officers will work in a liaison capacity to stimulate activity at all levels in the country to which they are assigned. They will not just be inspectors. This is a good step. I hope that the Department of State will follow up this move with the strongest diplomatic representations in countries such as Turkey, Switzerland, France, and Mexico, to insure that illegal drugs do not move from these countries to the United States. I am including the text of Secretary Richardson's remarks in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues.

As I have pointed out before there is a dearth of information about the nature of drugs. The statistics that are used are not reliable. Therefore, any good surveys are particularly useful. A recent article in the New York Times commented on the extent of the drug problem in Great Britain. The article also pointed out the dangers connected with the use of barbiturates as a depressant or stimulant. I am including this article for the RECORD as well as an article on British attitudes toward the use of marijuana and hashish that appeared in the Boston Globe. I believe they will throw additional light on the complex and threatening drug crisis that we face.

The material referred to, follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE, TO THE PHILADELPHIA BAR ASSOCIATION, APRIL 2, 1970

It is an honor to appear before this venerable association of lawyers. The subject I want to discuss today is legal, but also medical, diplomatic, sociological and a lot of other things as well—the campaign that has been launched by the United States Government to reverse mounting drug abuse.

This high priority campaign has three major aspects—those focusing on treatment, education and rehabilitation, those centering on law enforcement, and those having to do with interdiction of the illicit supply.

My previous experience as U.S. Attorney and Attorney General of Massachusetts bore largely on the first two aspects. My current responsibilities fall in the third area. Since the most potent and worrisome drugs originate beyond our borders, our intensified efforts to halt the illicit supply depend heavily on international cooperation and diplomacy. The Department of State is playing a crucial if little known part in this side of the overall effort. I hope to illuminate today what we have done and what we hope to do.

The mushrooming illicit use of drugs is not difficult to document. In the last decade the abuse of drugs has, in President Nixon's words, "grown from essentially a local police problem into a serious national threat to the personal health and safety of millions of Americans."

New York City alone is thought to have over 100,000 heroin addicts. Between 1965 and 1968 world-wide heroin seizures increased by over 300 percent, with North America leading.<sup>1</sup>

Two other factors help to explain our current intense concern about drugs. One is that the use of drugs is now less localized. Mainlining heroin, to use a grim pun appropriate to this city, has come to the Main Line. In many respects we are now paying the price for our earlier neglect of the problem. One of the most alarming aspects of the spread of hard drugs among the young is the high rate of contagion. Since young people have little money and usually lead a superficially "straight" life, their easiest means of paying for drugs is by selling some to their friends.

The second reason for our present concern is the interconnection between drug use and the rise in crime. The closeness of the relationship is starkly illustrated by the fact that in 1968, according to estimates made by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, addicts' stole or criminally acquired \$1.5 billion in money and goods to feed their habit.

As I have already suggested, a successful campaign against drugs must couple treatment with law enforcement. It must cope with the drug user as well as the drug itself. As John Ingersoll, the Director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, puts it, "To talk only in terms of eliminating the illicit drug supply is . . . a shortsighted approach. What we need is a concomitant long-range program that will eliminate the demand."

This is something we realized during the time I was Attorney General of Massachusetts. In order to cope with both sides of the problem we developed one of the first programs in the nation which supplemented tough enforcement with measures emphasizing prevention, treatment and rehabilitation.

Because the nature and causes of addiction, methods of treatment, and so on, while vitally important, are somewhat apart from my central theme today, I shall not now address myself to them in detail. Before passing over them entirely, however, let me just make some very brief comments.

In his *The Doors of Perception* Aldous Huxley, perhaps this era's most eminent user of drugs, wrote "That humanity at large will ever be able to dispense with Artificial Paradises seems very unlikely." While this proposition may be arguable philosophy, the temptation to retreat from reality will doubtless always be great for those whose lives are dreary, or painful, or squalid, or who cannot cope. There will always be those who, disliking the way society is organized, seek a simple exit. In times of frenetic change,

Footnotes at end of speech.



turmoil and social strain such as this country is passing through, the number of people who seek any means to escape from stress will, of course, be that much larger.

But I cannot be sure that we ourselves have not compounded the problem. In many respects we have failed to communicate with our sons and daughters, and in others we have communicated perhaps too well. For example, by age ten the average child has already watched countless hours of television and has been told innumerable times that he need not suffer the effects of headaches, tension, colds, be overweight or underweight, or fall asleep or stay awake when he does not want to—he has only to "take a pill."

Not only are potentially dangerous drugs of all kinds taken too casually, far too much is spoken far too glibly and unknowingly about them. There is talk, for example, about the "harmlessness" of marijuana, even though relatively little is actually known about its properties.<sup>3</sup> Such research as has been done presents contradictory conclusions, but most recent evidence points to serious permanent effects from prolonged use—disruptions of memory, disturbances of speech patterns and acute toxic reactions. Although the debate about whether marijuana users are or are not inclined to move on to more dangerous drugs is still inconclusive, I have a hard time accepting any proposition which concludes that we should condone the spread of a drug about which we know so little.

At the same time, this Administration fully realizes that present marijuana laws are too harsh and therefore counterproductive. We have moved to make them a more realistic deterrent by reducing the penalty for a first offense from a felony to a misdemeanor.

While we are deeply concerned with all drugs, we are particularly troubled by the spread of the killer drug, heroin. There is really no such thing as an ex-heroin addict. Hardly anyone ever successfully gets "off" heroin, at least not unless he is kept in a highly controlled environment.

Two controversial treatments, the so-called "British system," which involves maintenance doses of the drug, and methadone, which is being experimentally used as a heroin substitute (and which is in itself addicting), are both subject to misuse, and are at best only stop-gap measures, hardly cures. The "British system" has been abused by unscrupulous doctors who sell excessive heroin prescriptions to addicts who then resell them. With rates of addiction rising sharply, the British government just last month asked Parliament for broad new powers to control narcotics. Methadone at least allows the persons in question to lead useful lives. But it is sobering to recall that heroin itself was first developed as a means of getting people off morphine. There have already been some deaths from an overdose of methadone.

In order to better coordinate and push forward the various elements of our fight on narcotics<sup>4</sup> having foreign relations implications, Secretary Rogers last year appointed a senior Foreign Service Officer as his Special Assistant for Narcotic Matters. In addition to overseeing the Department's own narcotics efforts, the Special Assistant acts as chairman of an interdepartmental group which helps to formulate government-wide policies and plans in this field.

This Administration has strengthened and intensified programs of cooperation on narcotics with foreign governments and international organizations in three separate areas. One of these is the common effort to control trafficking and smuggling. It is an effort made more difficult by the fact that sizable quantities of opium and cocaine are grown for medicinal and other legitimate

purposes, and thus can find their way into illegal channels at many points.<sup>5</sup>

In a day when millions of persons cross our borders annually and in which cargo traffic is gargantuan, attempts to prevent smuggling face fantastic problems. I am told, for instance, that there are about 30,000 places on a cargo ship where a package of heroin could be hidden. The relative handful of customs and narcotics agents available for the task (the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs has 850 agents) can obviously not hope to do more than make random checks, and so must rely on tips and undercover work. This, in turn, requires agents who are willing to go underground, sometimes for years at a time, and such men are hard to recruit.

The interdiction of heroin presents a different kind of problem from the interdiction of marijuana. Because marijuana has far more numerous sources of supply and because values and profits are much smaller, smuggling is largely in the hands of amateurs and small time operators. Organized crime does not thrive in a competitive climate. Its operations require a closed, monopolistic situation in which the toughest elements force out competitors by intimidation, or, if necessary, by murder.

Heroin affords exactly the right circumstances. It is almost entirely controlled by highly organized syndicates linked to others in Europe, principally in the south of France. Profits all down the line are astronomical. One kilogram (2.2 lbs.) of morphine base<sup>6</sup> is worth about \$350 in Turkey. After conversion into heroin in France it is worth ten times that much. By the time it reaches New York it is worth \$25,000, and by the time it is diluted and reaches the pusher in the street it retails for a quarter of a million dollars.

I am pleased to announce today that the U.S. narcotics enforcement staff in overseas assignments is being more than doubled. Thirty-six new officers of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs will be permanently assigned abroad to join thirty-four already there. The new officers will be assigned to twenty missions in 17 countries. This deployment represents a major addition to the international effort to control the illegal traffic in narcotics. This is the only substantive increase in U.S. personnel overseas that has been announced since this Administration took office. It comes at a time when personnel in almost all other activities are being cut back by at least ten percent, and thus doubly underlines the extreme importance we attach to the narcotics enforcement program.

These new men, like all other officers of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, stationed overseas will work very closely in all matters of surveillance, interception, and arrest in narcotics smuggling cases with the International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol) which provides a world-wide communications network centered in Paris. Narcotics officers stationed overseas also, of course, maintain very close relations with the police organizations of the host country.

Increased trafficking in drugs has heightened—and made more difficult—another part of our international responsibility—our obligation to help American citizens who get into difficulties abroad. Many young Americans especially are under the grave misapprehension that they can leave what they consider to be this "restrictive" society and go to more "permissive" ones where they can use drugs to their hearts' content. Actually, most foreign countries have extremely harsh drug laws. Mere possession of drugs, including marijuana, is often punishable by long prison sentences. In recent months, many countries, afraid that their own youth are being contaminated by outsiders, have been cracking down especially hard on foreigners

caught with drugs. And, again contrary to the belief of many American young people travelling abroad, there is very little the United States can do to help them if they are so caught.

Significant new initiatives have also been taken in the second broad area of cooperation—the effort to eliminate illegal processing facilities. The difficulties that confront the prevention of smuggling make this activity all the more important.

Most opium grows in the Middle East, is converted to heroin in small, mobile laboratories in Southern France. All that is required is water, electricity, some standard chemical substances and paraphernalia, and a bit of know-how. Laboratories are usually temporarily located in empty buildings or warehouses, often near wine bottling facilities so that the characteristic odor is masked. From there the heroin is shipped to the United States.

As heroin addiction has spread in France itself, the French government has become more aggressive in its efforts to eliminate clandestine laboratories. Under our urging and with our cooperation it has recently increased the size of its specialized national police narcotic units and intensified other police crackdowns. The United States appreciates these efforts, and we hope that with the continued determination of its government France will in the foreseeable future be virtually eliminated as a nexus for heroin refining and shipping activities.

The third area of intensified diplomatic activity is perhaps the most significant—and the most promising—of all. This is our greatly stepped up drive, using both bilateral and multilateral channels, to encourage producer nations to eliminate or more closely control cultivation.

International restraints on the cultivation and export of narcotic substances are governed by the "Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1953" which pulled together a variety of previous treaties dating back to 1912. Two independent international organizations affiliated with the United Nations, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and the International Narcotics Control Board, both located in Geneva, oversee its provisions.

Even with the international system of controls, overproduction is estimated to provide at least 1,200 tons of raw opium a year for illicit use. The magnitude of this volume becomes apparent when it is compared to the 800 tons which it is estimated is all that is required for the world's total legal requirements.

Some opium producing nations, notably India—which is by far the largest grower of all—and the Soviet Union, have extremely stringent controls, so that almost no excess filters into illegal channels and what does is used up domestically. Others are a good deal less effective in their controls. Iran tried to set an example in 1955 when, at the cost of losses in its foreign exchange, it unilaterally stopped all opium production. Last year, despite the urging of other nations, it resumed because it was unable to stop illicit traffic from neighboring states, a traffic which continues even though Iran has put not a few smugglers before firing squads. Iran states that it will again terminate all production if its neighbors do likewise.

Perhaps our greatest success so far in our bilateral efforts has been with Mexico, which has significantly increased the intensity of its eradication program. Despite tremendous problems of terrain, the Mexican army and Mexican law enforcement agencies destroyed large quantities of marijuana and opium poppies in their most recent campaign. Since last fall U.S. authorities, working closely with their Mexican counterparts in a program called "Operation Cooperation," have also been conducting intensive surveillance at the border. As a result of these combined activities, the flow of illicit opium and marijuana has been markedly reduced.

Footnotes at end of speech.

An additional step forward in this combined effort came last month when the Attorneys General of our two countries agreed on further means of cooperation between enforcement officials. To aid in this concentrated program of eradication the United States will provide Mexico with approximately \$1 million for the procurement of additional helicopters, light "spotting" planes, remote sensing equipment, and chemicals for use in the destruction of poppy and marijuana fields.

Mexico accounts for only about 15 percent of the roughly three tons of heroin entering the U.S. annually. The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs estimates that 80 percent originates in Turkey.<sup>7</sup> That is why Turkey has figured so prominently in our diplomatic activities on narcotics. We have been very actively working with Turkey in its efforts to crack down on the illicit diversion of poppy production.

The elimination of opium production is more of a political than an economic problem for the Turkish government. Legal exports of opium earned it only \$1.7 million in foreign exchange in 1967, or only one-third of one percent of all its export earnings. The total income to the Turkish economy, including exports, international distribution, and poppy seeds, is believed not to exceed \$5 million.

Its marginal economic importance notwithstanding, halting illicit traffic presents the Turkish government with major practical problems, for growing and selling opium is individually important to many small farmers. The latter, who also use poppy seeds for flavoring, animal feed and to produce cooking oil, get \$17 for a ton sold legally and \$40 when sold illegally. They have been growing it for centuries, are only dimly aware of its harmfulness, and see no particular reason to stop growing it now. The governing Justice Party, moreover, has often been accused by opposition elements of being pro-American. Since Turkey has no addiction problem of its own to speak of, any crackdown wins the government little domestic support, makes it vulnerable to the heckling of the opposition, and alienates the peasants who form the backbone of its own constituency.

Despite these serious domestic problems, the Turkish government has resolutely moved ahead to reduce the provinces in which cultivation is allowed. Three years ago the United States provided the Turkish government with a \$3 million loan through the Agency for International Development to encourage Turkish farmers to switch to other crops and to equip and reorganize its narcotic control forces. Production has since been reduced from 18 provinces to 9. Although pleased with this progress, we are continuing to explore with the Turks means by which all remaining illicit production can be quickly eliminated.

All three areas of cooperation I have described are now beginning to show results. We have made processing and producing nations aware of the terror drugs have brought to our society. We have stressed that what has happened here can happen to them.

Diplomacy is, of course, more than a means of maintaining cordial relations. It is a means of achieving national objectives. In the case of narcotics I believe we have successfully employed it to transmit our sense of urgency to these nations so that, even though their own immediate interest in tighter measures of control is a good deal less acute than our own, they are moving ahead with encouraging speed.

Additional measures may be required to complement these diplomatic initiatives. We are discussing, for example, means by which pharmaceutical firms can contribute to international control measures. Even if Mexico and Turkey become totally successful in

their opium control activities, illicit growth in other countries, we are aware, may be stepped up. The lure of profits is so great and the ingenuity of the underworld so large that every available means to develop new sources would undoubtedly be taken. Such sources, particularly those in the Far East, might be even more difficult to control.

While this threat cannot be overlooked in our long range planning, the elimination of current sources would place extreme strain on illegal suppliers. Enforcement officials believe that even a relatively short hiatus in the availability of heroin would drastically increase prices. More important, it would force criminal traffickers to take greater risks and thus facilitate enforcement efforts.

No program to control drugs can hope to be ultimately successful unless it can also cope with the demand. The difficulties inherent in controlling for very long the worldwide supply of a product wanted so desperately by some people that they are willing to do anything to get it makes this sad fact very evident. The unavailability of one drug, furthermore, will drive users to others, especially as synthetics become more available. That is why, as I stressed earlier, this Administration is coupling its efforts to eliminate the illegal supply with renewed efforts to promote education, rehabilitation, and research.

"Oh, just, subtle, and mighty opium," wrote Thomas De Quincey in his famed *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, "thou hast the keys of Paradise."

But they are most imperfect keys, to a bogus and fleeting paradise, purchased at a terrible cost. They must be taken away, with great compassion for the sick and wretched victim, but with no compassion at all for those who cynically profiteer by exploiting him.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> A caveat: Because they deal with clandestine activities, all statistics in this field must be used with a good deal of caution. Estimates from even the most knowledgeable sources vary widely.

<sup>2</sup> Correctly used, the word "addict" applies only to someone addicted to a drug which causes physical dependency, i.e., the opium derivatives, barbiturates, and certain synthetics. Cocaine, marijuana, the amphetamines, and LSD do not fall in this category.

<sup>3</sup> An impediment to study on the subject is that the strength of marijuana varies hugely, so that the differences in the intensity of an equivalent amount can vary far more than the intake of a glass of 3.2 beer and a glass of straight 100 proof bourbon. The active ingredient in U.S. grown marijuana varies from about .05% to 1.5%; Mexican marijuana ranges from 2% to 4%.

<sup>4</sup> The term narcotic is subject to some confusion since its legal and medical meanings are different. Medically, narcotic refers to opium derivatives such as heroin, morphine, paregoric and codeine, as well as certain synthetics such as demerol. Cocaine and marijuana are legally but not chemically classified as narcotics. In deference to this audience, I use the word today in its broader legal sense.

<sup>5</sup> Although heroin, the most concentrated form of opium, is not legally available in this country, or in most other countries, morphine, codeine, paregoric and other opium derivatives have wide medical application. Marijuana and hashish have no legitimate uses, medicinal or otherwise, and are illegal virtually everywhere. Cocaine, which is derived from the South American coca bush, not from the coca plant as is sometimes thought, and which was once widely used as a local anesthetic, is being increasingly replaced by newer, less toxic drugs. An estimated 13,000 tons of coca leaves are produced annually, despite the fact that less

than 2% of that amount is required for medical purposes or flavoring extract.

<sup>6</sup> This intermediate product, which is 1/15 the original weight and volume of raw opium, is produced by simple portable "stills," usually close to the growing area.

<sup>7</sup> The balance comes from the Far East.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 30, 1970]

#### BRITAIN CURBING LEGAL-HEROIN SYSTEM (By Richard Severo)

LONDON.—The long-standing British practice of giving free and legal heroin to addicts, which has been suggested in New York recently as a solution to that city's massive narcotics problem, is being sharply reduced and may be abandoned in its present form as unworkable.

No formal announcement of policy change has been made by the Home Office, but the last year or so, it is estimated that half the number of physicians licensed to prescribe heroin in Government clinics have either cut back sharply on doses or have stopped such prescribing entirely. Of the 3,000 known drug addicts in England, perhaps 2,500 take heroin. Three-quarters of the addicts live in the London area.

The British system has been closely watched since it began in the nineteen-twenties. Observers in Europe and America for years have felt that the British were able by simply being sensible and humane, to control a problem in a way that law enforcement was never able to.

Drug abuse is increasing in many countries, so The New York Times studied the British system for more than a month to see if it was, in fact, living up to its image. The evidence strongly suggests that it is not.

Although the problem in Britain is tiny compared to that in New York City, which has 100,000 addicts, the inability of British experts to solve the drug problem here has serious implications on both sides of the Atlantic.

The disturbing truth, according to the Home Office, is that only 94 heroin addicts were known to the Government 10 years ago. But between 1960 and 1967, the number of recorded new addicts doubled every 16 months. The addicts came from the poor, the middle-class and the rich; from the working class and the leisure class; from the unschooled and the well educated; from London and Manchester and Edinburgh and Dublin and even the so-called new towns that were supposed to have abolished big-city ills.

#### MORE TEEN-AGERS INVOLVED

As in America, more and more recruits to the drug subculture have been teen-agers. The proportion of addicts known to the Home Office under the age of 20 went up from less than 1 per cent in 1960 to 38 per cent in 1966, the last year for which figures are available.

In short, the British system—which was never really a system at all, but a series of social and medical responses to increasing drug abuse—is now groping and confused.

The morphine users, that the British treated so successfully in the nineteen-thirties have given way to the heroin addicts of the nineteen-sixties, younger people who abused the system that tried to treat them with a maximum of medical expertise and a minimum of moralizing about self-indulgence.

Dr. Peter Chapple, an authority on addiction who operates a private clinic for addicts in London, said, "The British system is now in total disarray. We must qualify our treatment not in terms of the gratification of the addict."

Dr. I. Pierce James, medical officer of Brixton Prison and a researcher into the past and present of the drug phenomenon here and abroad, contended that "the British sys-



tem . . . which for decades had worked so well as to become the envy of other countries, became responsible for the heroin epidemic of the early nineteen-sixties."

#### NEW YORK PROPOSALS

In New York, there have been several proposals in recent months to institute the legal dispensing of heroin as a way to cope with the crime and violence associated with drug addiction. Among the proponents are Paul O'Dwyer, a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate; Howard J. Samuels, a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor; Representative Bertram L. Podell, Democrat of Brooklyn, and Assemblyman Franz S. Leichter, a Manhattan Democrat, who has introduced a bill that would make legal heroin available to addicts in state clinics.

Such proposals would reverse the direction of United States policy, which has made the addiction problem the province of police and the courts since World War I. Physicians were all but ignored in framing that policy.

In 1967, New York State established a Narcotic Addiction Control Commission, but many professional employees as well as outside experts have charged that it merely warehouses sick people and does little to probe their problems or the basic causes of addiction. New York City now has a plethora of programs aimed at helping addicts, but they are uncoordinated and apparently inadequate to the task.

#### PUBLIC BECOMES IMPATIENT

Meanwhile the victimized public has become impatient toward drug addiction, which has caused social upheaval, decimated families and entire neighborhoods, diverted thousands of law-enforcement officials and cost hundreds of millions of dollars.

As a result, residents in some New York City neighborhoods have resorted to vigilante violence aimed at pushers and addicts in the belief that nothing else will work.

One program that has produced some favorable, although controversial, results in New York is methadone, a synthetic narcotic that is also addictive. But if given in sufficient dosage, it blocks the hunger for heroin in some addicts.

Some physicians in London are trying methadone, too, Dr. Chapple among them. But the British are having serious problems with the drug, some of which they believe have been caused by the legal prescribing of heroin.

Some doctors find their patients simply will not take methadone orally. The reason apparently lies in a peculiar syndrome that develops with heroin addiction—the enjoyment of sticking a needle into the body. So strong is the urge that Dr. Chapple lets his new patients inject methadone for a week or so before trying to wean them to straight oral doses.

#### EUPHORIA PRODUCED

But many addicts insist on taking methadone with needles. Taken this way, methadone offers a high and subsequent euphoria that, according to the junkies, is almost as effective as that offered by heroin.

Since 1968, private practitioners have not been able to prescribe heroin here. It is available only in government clinics, partly because a few doctors—for money or out of a desire to be humane—lavished more heroin on the junkies than they could possibly have used themselves. As a result, many junkies had ample reserves to "turn on" others attracted to their way of life.

But methadone can still be prescribed by a doctor in his private practice and sources in the Home Office say that a black market in methadone has begun and some people buying it were never addicted to heroin in the first place.

Thus, Britain has begun to see the development of a new kind of addict: the methadone junky. Home Office figures indicate the

presence of 182 new methadone junkies in 1968, bringing the total up to 486. Some medical authorities believe there may be as many as 600 individuals in Britain now mainlining methadone.

Because the supply of legal heroin has been reduced, addicts are looking to other drugs that are even more deadly in some respects because they are so completely unsuitable for injection, even by a trained physician. The current fad among junkies who gather in Piccadilly Circus is to crush a barbiturate sleeping pill, preferably Nembutal, into a vial with water and then mainline the mixture into a vein just as they would do with heroin.

#### HUGE SORES DEVELOP

But oral Nembutal was never intended for injection and anyone who tries it will develop huge sores the size of golf balls. A reporter who recently spent a dozen nights with the Piccadilly junkies found them huddled in doorways, their festering needle sores wrapped in dirty bandages, talking with morbid fascination about their afflictions and about their friends who had tried mainlining "sleepers" (barbiturates) and died.

Barbiturates, a physician explained, are heavily alkaline. If a junky misses his vein and makes only a subcutaneous injection, the barbiturates will immediately begin to cause an abscess under the skin. And because the sores produced are not caused by bacteria, attempts to treat them with antibiotics are useless.

But an addict who is "lucky" enough to hit the vein cleanly is not so lucky after all. Barbiturates frequently cannot be carried away by the blood fast enough and, even after a single injection, a vein will collapse, impairing circulation.

But in their uncontrollable urge to continue mainlining, junkies seek new veins. As soon as they find one, the vein collapses. And so the junkies pursue even the tiniest veins—ones most people don't even know they have—veins between the fingers, veins between the toes, veins in the genitalia. In one instance a boy tried to give himself a needle in the white of his eye. And in Piccadilly, the junkies talked about him. Nobody knew where he was.

#### SOME GET GANGRENE

The junkies knew, though, that they were fortunate if all they had was an ugly wound. Because all around Piccadilly—in the tunnels leading to the Underground, in the coffee bars, in the back alleys of Soho—there were junkies with something worse: gangrene.

Doctors cannot agree whether the gangrene is caused by a characteristic of the barbiturates or by the open sores not being kept clean. But all around the West End one sees junkies with missing toes or missing fingers or with the graying flesh that signifies an amputation is imminent.

Tommy, who was 30 years old but looked 40, had already lost one leg in an auto accident. A couple of months ago, he was told that his remaining leg would have to come off. He had tried to mainline Nembutal between his toes and now his foot was turning black.

But he kept putting off the operation. And with each day, the gangrene spread a little bit farther. "It won't be too bad, you know," he said to a visitor in a gentle voice, as he carefully drew pictures of horses on a napkin. "The doc says they won't have to take too much off."

Tommy's companion was Penny, who was 24 and the mother of two children. She had just been told that three of her toes might have to come off. Penny explained that she had started on heroin when she was 18 and at one point was taking 180 milligrams a day, or more than twice the average dose for a New York addict. But her clinic had stopped giving her heroin, so she was

mainlining methadone and about 700 milligrams of barbiturates a day, if she could get the pills.

#### "THAT ISN'T VERY GOOD"

"Yes, love, my toes," she said. "I'll admit it, I'm hung up on the old needle. But you see, love, all the veins have thrombosed on me and I can't really get a vein any more and that isn't very good, is it?"

There was blood on her blouse and on her hands from her last fix. Although she was going to lose three toes, she was mainlining between the toes that had not yet become infected.

"And him," she said, pointing to Tommy, "he's super. He's looking after me till my hubby gets out of jail." She explained that her husband had been jailed for illegal possession of pethidine, a synthetic narcotic.

"What a day it will be when he gets out," she said. "He's got 450 ampules of methedrine hid away someplace but he won't even tell me where it is." Methedrine is a stimulant in the amphetamine group for which there was a big fad two years ago. The British all but removed it from the country's pharmacopoeia and the junkies then moved to barbiturates.

A constable came by and struck up a conversation that seemed to typify the relationship between the police and the addicts in England.

"Ha you doing, Tommy?" the constable asked.

"I'm doin' fine," Tommy said.

"How's the leg?"

"I dunno. The doc's supposed to tell me."

"What are you going to do when you get out?"

"I dunno."

#### SPEECH IS BLURRED

Penny then tried to touch the constable's helmet strap. He backed away. "Here, now," he said.

"You look so uncomfortable with that strap under your chin," Penny said in the blurred speech reminiscent of alcoholic intoxication, common to all barbiturate users.

"Watch yourself," said the constable sternly, moving away.

"You see that fellow," Tommy said. "E gave Penny all the silver in his pockets two Christmases ago. 'E's a good chap'."

When the constable was asked about it, he snapped: "I don't talk to press. Push off."

Every few minutes someone would come up and offer to buy or sell "sleepers." Several drug seekers were "skin heads" from East London—working-class young men who shave their heads to show their contempt for hippies but who share the hippy longing for drugs.

Penny had not eaten all day. She stumbled across Piccadilly Circus, Tommy helping her as he balanced himself on his crutches, and they ate pasties in Pronto, a coffee bar on Piccadilly that sells steak sandwiches for 38 cents.

Penny was too intoxicated to notice, but Tommy bought her a hamburger and slipped it into her coat pocket so she'd have something to eat the next morning, when she woke up in the hotel where she was staying in Lambeth.

Then Tommy put her on a train for home. Penny kissed everybody goodnight and said, "It's good to have a friend."

"Take care," Tommy said. Then someone else said, "Don't Penny have a nice accent?"

"Oh, yes," said another, "Penny's from Eastbourne. Middle class."

#### THE MAJOR PROBLEM

Penny typifies some of the problems the British have encountered in their legal heroin program. Based on interviews with physicians, addicts and many of the nation's most knowledgeable workers in the drug field, the major problems include the following:

In the last 10 years, a new kind of addict—

young, alienated from society and seeking the company of other addicts—has appeared on the London scene, just as he has in New York. Unlike his counterpart of more than a decade ago, most of whom were women over 50 who were hooked on morphine in the hospital, the new addict has invariably tried to get more drugs than he can possibly use. If a doctor accedes to his requests he sells drugs to other junkies or "turns on" nonaddicts attracted to his style of living. Dr. Thomas Bewley of Tooting Bec Hospital says the addict does this not out of malice but out of the desire to share what he regards as a good thing.

Physicians have been unable to determine how much an addict really needs. A reporter found one addict for example who had a Government prescription for 1,600 milligrams a day of heroin and cocaine, at least 16 times the average dose in Britain and enough to kill an entire ward of American addicts. The addict, Bill Arnold, 45, contended that he was not getting enough and complained: "They're trying to kill me. I get drunk every goddam day. I got to have my medicine." Dr. Bewley refers to the prescription process as "judicious guesswork and bizarre haggling." If too much is given, death from overdose results and Dr. Bewley estimated recently that British addicts had a death rate of twice that of American addicts. If too little is given, the legal program becomes a shambles as addicts seek black-market heroin and other drugs.

#### PSYCHOTHERAPY URGED

Many British physicians have come to believe that dispensing heroin is incompatible with trying to offer addicts psychotherapy. The basis of a psychiatric approach, they say, should be to help the addict come to grips with reality, something he can never do if he is in a perpetual state of euphoria.

The active addict, no matter where or how he gets his drugs, tends to attract young people who believe that the life style of a drug addict is a dashingly and attractive form of anti-authoritarian expression. Some doctors contend that if an addict is incurable and must be given drugs, he must also be removed from nonaddicted society. "It is a disease," said Prof. Francis E. Camps of London Hospital's School of Forensic Medicine, "transmitted psychologically. They must be isolated if we are to survive this."

More doctors are raising questions about the ethics of supplying addicts with drugs. "Our aim must be to get them off all injections," said Dr. Chapple, who tries to cut back on the methadone he gives his patients after six months. Dr. James likens heroin maintenance to "giving an alcoholic two bottles of whiskey a day—with vitamin B-12 added, of course."

The British drug problem has a dramatic and not fully explained difference, compared to its American counterpart. The "coloreds" in Britain, many of whom are heavy users of hashish, are simply not taking drugs intravenously in significant numbers.

#### MOST ADDICTS ARE WHITE

Brixton Prison's Dr. James concludes from his research that the coloreds in Britain—this includes Indians, Pakistanis, black Africans and West Indians—account for less than 3 per cent of the total number of addicts and that four-fifths of the addicts are whites who were born here.

However, the Irish and the Scots—two groups that previously limited their drug use to alcohol—are showing signs of moving to heroin and other drugs administered by hypodermic needle.

In a recent study of 200 addicts remanded to Brixton Prison, Dr. James found only a single Jamaican and a single Indian, but 31 Irish and 21 Scots. All the Irish and all but four of the Scots had become addicted after moving to London.

As the amount of Government heroin has dwindled, black-market heroin, originating in China and smuggled through Hong Kong, is appearing in London's West End. It is called red chicken and the price has risen in the last eight months from \$2.40 for 60 milligrams to as much as \$14.40 (60 milligrams in New York would cost about \$20).

Although Scotland Yard is worried that the price is now profitable enough to encourage organized large-scale smuggling, officials say they have not seen evidence of it as yet. "I guess there's still more money to be made in New York," one official said.

Despite the growth of drug abuse in Britain, many in both government and medicine believe that Britain will never see the advent of an American-style crisis.

They tend to view British drug addicts as "lacking character" and reason that if they were members of proper British families, they would not be in trouble.

One high source in the Home Office expressed the belief that American addicts were similarly defective. He explained that he had never seen clinical proof that young people within the parameters of "normal" were experimenting with drugs.

#### SEVERAL PHYSICIANS DISAGREE

But Dr. Chapple and several other physicians disagreed with this view. He believes that as addiction spreads, more and more people tend to get drawn into it.

"I think it is perfectly self-deceptive to say otherwise," Dr. Chapple said. "I've seen them here and I tell you, they are the same people."

One addict who could have come from Westchester and qualified as "normal" was Cathy.

Green-eyed and 20 years old, she had a soft, disarming Scottish burr from her native Edinburgh. Her mother was dead and her father had moved to Dublin. Mary said she had fled to London in December after walking into her Edinburgh flat one evening and discovering the joy she was going to marry was having a homosexual relationship. "I could have competed with another woman, I think," she said. "But not a man."

By mid-February she was still jobless and drifting, and she had been on heroin for five weeks. She had injected 10 milligrams of heroin into her left arm 30 minutes before she walked into Piccadilly Circus, seemingly uninterrupted by the cold wind that cut through her light jacket.

"Do you think I'm mad?" she asked a stranger. "Sometimes I think I am quite mad. This is all terribly destructive, you know."

#### ADDICTIVE PERSONALITY

"You see," she went on, "I'm not addicted but I have an addictive personality." She rubbed her face and her arms. "Heroin," she said. "Such a marvelous itch. Better than sex, you know. Are you one of us?"

She didn't seem to mind when the stranger said he was not.

Cathy was not hungry but said she would like an orange soda. She was escorted to a delicatessen on Great Windmill Street, two blocks from Piccadilly, but before she could order anything, she rushed out into the street and began to vomit.

"Don't be concerned," said a young man who knew Cathy. "You see, she's still on the virgin high. It might be hard for you to understand, but vomiting at this stage of the game is nice."

"Why is that?"

"Because it means for one thing that she really isn't addicted. Her body is still reacting. It is a wonderful thing to have your body remind you that you aren't hooked. But there's another thing, too; it is a cerebral vomiting. It's hard to explain to you, but it is an effortless thing that comes from the

brain and it . . . well, it feels good. I don't know how else to explain it."

Cathy's friend thought for a moment, then added: "She's been on the stuff for five weeks, of course, and I'm rather surprised that she's still vomiting. That'll stop soon."

"Then what happens?"

"Then she's hooked."

"You see?" Cathy said as she walked into the delicatessen. "I have an addictive personality but I'm not addicted."

Cathy was asked what it would take to get her to stop taking heroin. She laughed the question off. "Why should you care about me?" she replied. "I don't care about myself."

#### GETTING PRETTY TOUGH

Cathy was asked if she planned to become a registered addict. She was not sure that she could. "They're getting pretty tough," she said, in reference to what the junkies regard as a growing reluctance on the part of clinics to accept new addicts for heroin maintenance.

What would she do when the shot wore off? "I'll get another one," she said. She was asked how.

"Well, I've thought about it. I've thought about it a great deal," she said. "I suppose I'll start sleeping around for money. I'd rather not do it, but I don't have much choice, do I?"

"Heroin is that important to you?"

"Right now, it's all my answers."

Cathy walked back toward Piccadilly. "I love London," she said. "Simply smashing. Have you been to the Tate? Lots of good things there. Do you like the ballet? We have splendid ballet. And the music; so much music. A lovely city, really. But you should have come in the summer. Everything is so open then and the people are so lovely and friendly. Everything's all gray and shut in now. But the summers are smashing."

A friend of Cathy's named Steve was busy selling blackmarket methadone and barbiturates in Piccadilly so he could get the money to buy black market heroin to supplement what the Government was giving him. Cathy said she planned to spend the night in Steve's apartment but quickly added: "He won't be trying anything. You know. He's a junky."

#### FINDINGS IN DRUG DEATHS

As the nature of drug use unfolds in London's morgues, the results of autopsies are dispelling some popular myths held about addicts.

Among other things, it is clear that methadone is being abused. It is equally clear that heroin users can be heavy drinkers and vice versa. And it shows that drug abusers are injecting into their bodies almost anything they can get their hands on, as fast as they can.

Here are results of autopsies conducted on six representative addicts at London Hospital, as reported by Dr. Ann Robinson and Dr. Faith M. Williams:

Age	Cause of death	Drugs found in body
18.....	Acute methadone poisoning.	Methadone, alcohol, amphetamine.
20.....	Methadone overdose.....	Methadone, methylamphetamine.
28.....	Barbiturate and morphine poisoning.	Morphine, alcohol, cocaine, and various barbiturates.
24.....	Barbiturate and alcohol poisoning.	Barbiturates and alcohol.
28.....	Inhalation of vomit after injection of heroin and cocaine.	Methadone, methylamphetamine (cocaine and heroin in blood in syringe).
22.....	Acute narcotic poisoning.	Methadone, amphetamine, morphine, barbiturate.

#### RISE IN ADDICTION, 1960-68

This table, based on data supplied by the Home Office, shows how Britain's drug prob-



lem grew during the nineteen-sixties. It does not include addicts who were taking illicit heroin and thus were not on any pharma-

cist's prescription list. Nor does it include data on those who may be using barbiturates or amphetamines:

Year	Total addicts known	Drugs used				Methadone	Doctor and nurse addicts	Male	Female
		Morphine	Heroin	Cocaine	Pethidine				
1960	437	177	94	52	98	68	63	195	242
1961	470	168	132	84	105	59	61	223	247
1962	532	157	175	112	112	54	57	262	270
1963	635	172	237	171	123	59	56	339	296
1964	753	171	342	211	128	62	58	403	344
1965	927	160	521	311	102	72	45	558	369
1966	1,349	157	899	441	123	156	54	886	463
1967	1,729	158	1,299	462	112	243	56	1,262	467
1968	2,782	198	2,240	564	120	486	43	2,161	621

[From the Boston Sunday Globe, Apr. 5, 1970]  
BRITISH STRUGGLE TO DEFINE THE DIFFERENCE  
BETWEEN HASHISH AND HEROIN

(By Alfred Friendly, the Washington Post)

LONDON.—Obliquely and gingerly, Britain is moving toward a distinction in law between marijuana and hard drugs. The government has proposed legislation to parliament for action this Summer that acknowledges a difference between hashish and heroin.

The new bill, introduced by Home Secretary James Callaghan, makes no pretention that it will solve the British narcotics problem (minuscule by American standards, but worrisome enough to the British). It is intended, rather, as another perfecting step in a succession of laws based on the concept that narcotics addiction is a medical rather than criminal problem.

On the face of it, Callaghan's bill merely declares that while possession of heroin can be punished with a prison sentence of seven years, the maximum for cannabis is five. There is more to this than the trifling difference in maximum sentencing suggests.

It is meant to be taken as an official indication to judges trying drug offenses that the philosophy of the controversial Wootton report is to be a guide. The report, emerging in 1968 from a committee under the chairmanship of Baroness Wootton and commissioned by the Home Office to study the problem of cannabis, could not bring itself to recommend the legalization of pot smoking. But it suggested that society recognize that "taking the drug in moderation is a relatively minor offense."

The report continued: "Thus, we would hope that juvenile experiments in taking cannabis would be recognized for what they are, and not treated as antisocial acts or evidence of unsatisfactory moral character."

With a national election almost certain this year, and one in which the Tories are due to inveigh against the evils of the permissive society and to exploit the law-and-order issue, Callaghan could not afford to get into a position where his opponents could dub him "Jim the Pot." Suitably cloaking the matter out of political necessity, he nevertheless has taken the critical step of telling the courts to look on hard drug violations differently from soft ones.

In proposing that possession of marijuana remain a criminal offense, Callaghan was merely following the best judgment of the Wootton Committee and, for that matter, the most thoughtful and best qualified specialist judgment here. The Wootton report declared:

"The subjectivity of the mental effects of cannabis makes it particularly difficult to measure the total effect of cannabis experience on any individual, or to assess what changes even a moderate and seemingly responsible habit might bring in the smoker's relationships with family and friends, study or work. We think too little is known about the patterns of use to predict that in western society it will produce social influences similar to those of alcohol. It was significant that even those of our witnesses who saw least

danger in the drug were concerned to discourage juveniles from using it."

One of Britain's foremost narcotics research authorities, who must remain unidentified for professional reasons, points out that when used in large amounts, hashish can produce a "large scale psychotic effect." If it does not have heroin's physically addictive effect, it nevertheless poses a danger of psychological dependency.

"In countries where the drug is freely available," this authority noted in a recent interview, "there's a cannabis skid row; a larger or small community of users to whom pot has become not just an occasional social diversion but something close to a way of life, an end in itself, a focus of activity, a consuming objective."

"For all its apparent—and, probably in most of its usage, real—innocence, marijuana is nevertheless a 'psychoactive' or 'psychotropic' drug and we better know a good deal more about it before we lift all controls from its traffic and use," the authority said.

In the words of the Wootton committee: "In the interests of public health it is necessary to maintain restrictions on the availability and use of this drug."

Compared to the United States, Britain's exposure to the pleasures and perils of pot is at the kindergarten stage—there is not much the United States has to learn from Britain's experience.

So also, Britain's problem, and therefore its experience, with the new subculture of hard drugs is trifling compared with America's: there are believed to be a maximum of 3000 addicts in the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, perhaps precisely because of its relatively small dimensions, it can be examined more completely and the results of the "British approach" to it can be measured more readily. The question is whether that approach, originally designed to deal with a quite different kind of drug problem, is valid for today's version of the infection.

Until about 10 years ago there was no such thing as a young drug victim in Britain. Addicts were entirely older people, "medically infected," i.e. patients emerging from long hospital treatment, or doctors themselves, their wives, family or friends. They were "hooked," no doubt, but also "stabilized": They could go about their daily lives, more or less normally, on a steady maintenance dosage. They seduced no one else into addiction. A daily dose, legally prescribed, was the humane thing for them and without risk to the society.

No one is quite sure how a change came about, beginning in the 1960s, or why. All that is certain is that, for the first time, young addicts began to appear, without the remarkable personal and social responsibility of the addicts of the earlier generation. Their physicians prescribed daily doses for them, as they had done for their predecessors. Better that, it was thought, than refusing them and thus inviting the creation of a black market, with the criminal accretions that such a market was accumulating in America. And better to hope that physicians could produce more cures than prison wardens.

But the new breed soon began to infect others with their habit, sometimes for psychological reasons and sometimes simply to get money, by peddling part of their prescriptions, to meet other needs.

The old system had depended on the integrity of the prescribing physicians, in granting only what they deemed were their patient's individual requirements. It was bound to collapse once unprincipled doctors got into the business. A typical example is the infamous Dr. Petro, who over-prescribed—for a fee. His clients, getting more drugs than they needed, sold off the surplus. New addicts were thus created, hand over fist.

The government's response to the new problem was a law, passed in 1967, to limit the prescribing of heroin drugs to specially licensed doctors in national drug addiction clinics. The junkie is now obliged to go to them, and no one else, for legal—and under the national health system, free—prescriptions, to be sent to a druggist for dispensing in daily doses, and non-transferable.

For a moment, it looked as if the new arrangement was on its way to solving the problem. The rate of new addiction dropped dramatically.

It is running now at about 150 a month, against which must be set the numbers going off the lists—mostly, and tragically, by death from overdosage, sepsis, jaundice, suicide or drug-induced systemic vulnerability to other ailments. Morality of addicts runs at 28 times the normal rate.

Soon, a new, ominous and still unsolved phenomenon appeared: The heroin addict in Britain today is becoming a poly-addict. He is supplementing his prescribed daily supply of heroin by different drugs—amphetamines and barbiturates mostly—which when injected into the veins are vastly more dangerous than heroin.

The amphetamines and barbiturates are, of course, also prescription drugs, but because of their wider legitimate use their prescription is not confined to the 100 or so physicians specially licensed to dispense heroin. Accordingly, the junkie out to supplement his legal narcotic supply finds it easy to pick up what he wants from friends, petty black marketers or—as Callaghan strongly hinted in parliament—from 10-12 doctors who are now engaged in today's version of the narcotic racket that Dr. Petro used to operate.

There have been some horrible consequences. Barbiturates usually contain some chalk in solution. When injected, the chalk stays in the veins, causing dreadful abscesses. Since the drug itself is basically a sedative, a sleeping potion usually, the user spends a good part of his life in a semicomatose condition.

Amphetamines, on the other hand, are stimulants, like "Pep Pills." When they are ground up, dissolved and injected, they tend to make the user wildly and indiscriminately violent—a new phenomenon in the landscape of addiction, when the usual heroin junkie was placed, almost timid and certainly non-aggressive while under the influence of the drug.

Another drug that appeared on the London scene for the first time last year is methadone. Used in the United States as a heroin substitute—it is taken orally and at least gets the addict off the needle—it has resulted in 337 new cases of addiction here. The British experience indicates it is every bit as addictive as heroin.

The national addiction clinics and their physicians are caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. The results of minimum prescription are now evident, but it was the consequences of over-prescription by the junkie doctors that caused the trouble in the first place. If the clinics now prescribe not only the doses the addicts require for medical stability but also the additional supply they crave, the junkies will invariably sell off

a bit of the surplus, and the cycle of new recruits joining the addict army will start all over again.

In what often seems a hopeless game of trying to plug each loophole, only to find another opening up, Callaghan proposes in his new bill to penalize much more severely the trafficking in the additional drugs, principally amphetamines and LSD. So far, he has not proposed tighter controls on barbiturates, perhaps because the task seems impossible. Some 18 million barbiturate prescriptions, each with an average of 80 doses, are written in Britain every year.

The new legislation is aimed at frightening off unscrupulous doctors who are prescribing the substitute drugs. Perhaps Callaghan will have to limit their prescription as well, like that of heroin, to specially licensed clinics.

Everyone agrees that a much more radical attack on the problem is necessary than this sensible but limited legislation provides. The trouble is, no one knows just what that radical attack should consist of.

Meantime, if the proposed legislation, added to that now on the British books, holds down addiction to its present levels or moderate rate growth, Britain can count itself lucky—far luckier than the United States.

Perhaps the best result—so far—of the British approach is that no major criminal superstructure has arisen like those nourished by the drug scene in other countries.

Since most of the junkies' heroin needs are legal and free, there simply is not a big enough black market demand to invite the big-time operators. The Mafia is not interested.

To this, of course, the skeptic can emphasize the "so far."

The fact remains that if the British drug scene is not good, it is not rapidly worsening. It may even be getting a little better.

# MANKATO STATE PUBLICATION APPEALS TO CONGRESS

## HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Plaintiff, the award-winning student literary magazine of Mankato State College, Mankato, Minn., carries in its winter edition a strong editorial opposing the Blue Earth River Dam that has been proposed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The editorial was written by Edward K. Sorensen, prose editor of the publication, who as a geographer has done extensive field research along the Blue Earth River system. His thoughtful commentary has the unanimous support of the Plaintiff editorial staff, and I have been asked to bring this eloquent plea to the attention of the entire Congress.

I am most pleased, therefore, to include the editorial in the RECORD at this point in my remarks, along with its explanatory introduction:

### DAMN DAM

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The editorial position taken here has the unanimous support of the editorial staff. The editors believe that there is already too little beauty left to posterity. We feel that America has been ravaged for long enough, and that such projects undertaken in the name of progress are eroding the last remnants of a once lovely continent. We further believe that with our resources dwindling, alternative solutions are less ex-

pensive in real cost even when the initial costs are higher.

(The unequivocal position of the editors is taken in appeal to Congress and to the people to spare the charming and unique Blue Earth River Valley from Federal destruction. The editors suggest Congress find an alternative solution to the problem of flood control below our valley.)

(Prose Editor-Geographer Sorensen was elected to state our case because of the extensive field research he conducted in the area during recent months.)

As a geographer, this editor has described the Blue Earth River system as, "a typically dendritic basin that drains large areas of Waseca, Faribault, Martin and Watonwan Counties where topography is relatively flat. Along the stream courses, the surface is deeply channelled from 40 to 75 feet at the headwaters to 150 to 200 feet near the Minnesota Valley.

"The Le Sueur and Watonwan Rivers are the largest tributaries of the Blue Earth River. The Maple and Cobb Rivers feed the Le Sueur River and Perch Creek empties into the Watonwan.

"In the lower courses the streams have eroded their steep sided valleys through unconsolidated glacial drift and into the underlying rock formation exposing Onita dolomite and Jordan sandstone."

While the descriptive professional jargon adequately serves the purpose of informing the scholar, it fails to reveal inherent beauty, solitude and source of joy and quiet pleasure that is the Blue Earth River Basin. More tragically, it fails to tell of the God-awful eyesore the Corps of Engineers proposes to create in its transformation of our valley into another of its monstrous projects.

Since childhood I have walked throughout the valleys, sometimes with rod or gun, through woodlands, fields and pastures. I have taken small mouth bass, walleye and channel cat from clear pools of cool waters and picked up agates and fossils from many clean gravel bars. I have tasted sweet and cold spring water flowing from the rock as I drank in the beauty of the wooded slopes and sheer clay banks rising from the water's edge, and here I have found peace.

The Corps proposes to transform these many hundreds of acres of habitat for deer, beaver, fox, mink, muskrat, hare and human into a widely fluctuating pool bounded by ugly drowned timber, mud flats, mud slides, and drowned ski slopes devoid of life.

The clay cliffs will slump and drowned grassland will slide down lubricated clay slopes into a turbid lake out of the ecological balance needed to support game fish in what was and could again be one of the best small mouth bass streams in America, and posterity will never know the joyous awe of standing on a precipice towering one hundred feet above the emerald ribbon that is the Little Cobb as it meanders toward the Blue Earth.

It is for them and us we ask, Please don't do it.

In addition, I also wish to insert two articles concerning the Plaintiff which appeared in the February 21 issue of the Mankato Free Press, Mankato, Minn. These articles attest to the excellence of this college publication:

### "PLAINTIFF" WINS ALL AMERICAN MAGAZINE HONORS

"Plaintiff," Mankato State College's student edited literary magazine, has been awarded All American honors by the Associated College Press rating service for the fall 1969 issue.

The high rating is the sixth national honor the magazine has received since being established in 1964.

The 52-page magazine, which contained poetry, fiction, essays, woodcuts and photog-

raphy, was edited by David Hunter, a senior from Mankato.

Other staff members included associate editor—Ted Anderson, a senior from Mankato; art editor—Mike Griffin, a senior from Minnetonka; poetry editor—Loren Burkel, a senior from Mankato; and prose editor—Ed Sorensen, a graduate student from St. Peter.

Advisers for the current year are Lawrence Holmes, associate professor of English, and Dr. Heino Ambros, associate professor of political science.

### MSC PLAINTIFF EDITORIAL STAND AGAINST DAM

The winter edition of the Plaintiff, Mankato State College literary magazine, will carry an editorial opposing the Blue Earth River dam proposed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

Prose editor Ed Sorensen, a geographer who has done extensive field research in the valley, predicts the corps' proposal will transform many hundreds of acres of habitat for wildlife and humans into "a widely fluctuating pool bounded by ugly drowned timber, mud flats, mud slides, and drowned ski slopes devoid of life."

"We feel that America has been ravaged for long enough and that projects undertaken in the name of progress are eroding the last remnants of a once lovely continent," says the editorial.

"We further believe that with our resources dwindling, alternative solutions are less expensive in real cost even when the initial cost is higher."

### EAST ORANGE COUNCIL SUPPORTS REGISTERING VOTERS IN POST OFFICES

## HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, I should like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the resolution adopted by the council of the city of East Orange, N.J., and its mayor, William S. Hart, Sr., on March 10, 1970.

This resolution supports the principle of providing the facilities of the U.S. Post Office for voter registration, thereby making registration as effortless and easily available as possible.

Legislation to provide for this system is pending before the House Elections Subcommittee, which, I hope, will give it swift and favorable attention. The resolution of the East Orange council follows:

### RESOLUTION I-116, CITY COUNCIL OF EAST ORANGE

Whereas, all citizens should exercise their right to vote; and

Whereas, many such persons have not taken advantage of their right to vote by reason of their failure to register; and

Whereas, the Congress of the United States of America has before it proposals that legislation be enacted to provide for the registration of voters at the various U.S. Post Offices during regular business hours; and

Whereas, many of our citizens frequent premises of said U.S. Post Offices; and

Whereas, the use of such U.S. Post Office facilities would aid in the registration of voters and provide better representation upon elections of persons to office and the resolution of public questions,



Now, therefore, be it resolved, That the Congress of the United States be and it is hereby urged to pass legislation providing for the use of U.S. Post Office facilities for the registration of voters; and

Be it further resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the President of the U.S. Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Senators Williams and Case of New Jersey, and Congressmen Minish and Rodino of New Jersey.

I hereby certify that the above is a true copy of Resolution I-166 adopted by the City Council of East Orange, March 9, 1970, and approved by the Mayor, March 10, 1970.

In testimony whereof, I have hereto set my hand, and affixed the corporate seal of said City, this 11th day of March A.D. 1970.

City Clerk.

## LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, February 16, 1970, marked the 52d anniversary of Lithuania's declaration of independence. In commemoration of Lithuania's Independence Day, Mayor Roman S. Gribbs of Detroit, Mich., issued a proclamation saluting Detroit residents of Lithuanian extraction. Similarly, the Detroit Lithuanian Organizations Center adopted a commemorative resolution.

So that my colleagues may have an opportunity to be familiar with these two documents, I insert their texts at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

PROCLAMATION—CITY OF DETROIT, EXECUTIVE OFFICE

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY,  
FEBRUARY 16, 1970

Whereas, the hearts of all loyal Lithuanians are especially stirred each year at this time because February 16 marks the date 52 years ago, when Lithuania declared its independence from Czarist Russia, and

Whereas, despite three totalitarian regimes, including the present yoke of Communist control, this gallant people's fervent cry for liberty has not been silenced, and

Whereas, the United States government supports the belief of Lithuanians everywhere in the eventual re-establishment of Lithuania as a free and sovereign state by refusing to recognize its incorporation into the Soviet Union, and

Whereas, this year, Lithuanians of the Detroit metropolitan area will commemorate the anniversary of their declaration of independence on Sunday, February 15 at the McAuley Auditorium at Mercy College

Now, therefore, I, Roman S. Gribbs, Mayor of the City of Detroit, do hereby proclaim February 16, 1970 as Lithuanian Independence Day in Detroit and salute all Detroit Lithuanians on this very special day for their shining example of patriotism for their beloved homeland.

Given under my hand and seal this 29th day of January, 1970.

ROMAN S. GRIBBS, Mayor.

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY RESOLUTION—  
FEBRUARY 16, 1970

Unanimously adopted at a mass meeting of Americans of Lithuanian descent and their friends, living in the Detroit Metropolitan area, sponsored by the Detroit Lithuanians Organizations Center, held on Sunday, February 15, 1970, at 3:00 P.M. at Mercy

College of Detroit, McAuley Auditorium, Detroit Michigan, in commemorating the 52d anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of Lithuania on February 16, 1918.

Whereas, the Communist regime did not come to power in Lithuania by legal or democratic process; and

Whereas, the Soviet Union took over Lithuania by force of arms in June 1940; and

Whereas, the Lithuanian people are strongly opposed to foreign domination and are determined to restore their freedom and sovereignty which they rightly and deservedly enjoyed for more than seven centuries in the past; and

Whereas, the Government of the United States maintains diplomatic relations with the government of the free Republic of Lithuania and consistently has refused to recognize the seizure of Lithuania and forced incorporation of this freedom-loving country into the Soviet Union; and

Whereas, the House of Representatives and the United States Senate unanimously passed a resolution urging the President of the United States to direct the attention of world opinion at the United Nations and at other appropriate international forums and by such means as he deems appropriate, to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and to bring the force of world opinion to bear on behalf of the restoration of these to the Baltic peoples; now, therefore be it

Resolved, that we, Americans of Lithuanian origin or descent, reaffirm our adherence to American democratic principles of government and pledge our support to our President and our Congress to achieve lasting peace, freedom and justice in the world; and be it further

Resolved, that President Nixon continue to carry out the expression of the United States Congress contained in H. Con. Res. 416 by bringing up the Baltic States question in the United Nations and demanding the Soviets to withdraw from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and be it finally

Resolved, that this resolution be submitted into the Congressional Record, and forwarded to the President, United States Senators from Michigan, Members of the U.S. Congress from Michigan and the press.

R. S. SAKIS, Chairman.

## REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY ON ARMS LIMITATION

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 9, 1970

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week the American Assembly on Arms Limitation issued a report on the outlook for arms limitation with reference to the strategic arms limitation talks—SALT—scheduled to resume April 16 in Vienna.

The report represents the view of a group of highly qualified and knowledgeable private citizens who met earlier this month under the auspices of the American Assembly of Columbia University. Their deliberations, which were chaired by the Honorable Adrian S. Fisher, dean of the Georgetown University Law School and former Deputy Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, resulted in several recommendations.

The most important of these was a call to the President to propose to the Soviet Union, on a reciprocal basis, an

immediate interim halt in the deployment of strategic offensive and defensive weapons and of tests of multiple warheads. The group further recommended that, to give the proposal a chance of success, that the impending deployment of U.S. MIRV's—multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles—be postponed for 6 months.

I believe it would be wise for the President to heed this proposal as he determines the final decision on what the U.S. negotiating position will be at the SALT talks in Vienna.

Last year the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments held extensive hearings on the diplomatic and strategic impact of MIRV's. After hearing testimony from a number of eminent witnesses, both in and outside the Government, the subcommittee unanimously reached the following conclusions:

(1) By its nature, MIRV may increase the temptation for a preemptive first strike; therefore, MIRVing of existing missile forces will pose a substantial threat to the present nuclear balance.

(2) The deployment of MIRV systems by either the Soviet Union or the United States would increase the difficulties for achieving meaningful arms control and could well touch off a costly escalation of the nuclear arms race.

(3) As both sides continue to test multiple-warhead systems, the opportunity to halt this development is fast slipping away. It may not yet be too late to reach a workable agreement with the Soviet Union on a mutual testing and deployment moratorium.

(4) In order to obtain an adequate, enforceable moratorium, it is essential that certain collateral agreements also be reached by both sides.

(5) Because of the evident complexities involved in achieving a safe, effective, and meaningful agreement halting the testing of MIRV's, that objective can best be accomplished within the framework of the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Basing its judgment on those conclusions, the subcommittee further recommended that the executive branch give a high priority to proposing a MIRV freeze at the initial session of SALT. Although this position was acknowledged as a prudent one by some administration officials, including, reportedly, the Secretary of State, the United States did not ultimately make an arms freeze proposal at Helsinki.

Mr. Speaker, time is fast running out on any opportunity to obtain a MIRV freeze and a meaningful halt in the arms race. I am hopeful that the President will demonstrate a sincere dedication to the cause of arms control and long-range national safety, and seek a reciprocal freeze on strategic weapons systems, as recommended by the American assembly group.

At this point, I am pleased to include the report of the American Assembly on Arms Limitation, together with an introduction by Mr. Clifford C. Nelson, president of the American Assembly:

## THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY ON ARMS LIMITATION

(By Clifford C. Nelson)

These pages contain the views of a group of Americans who met March 31–April 2, 1970, at Arden House, Harriman, New York, to con-

sider the outlook for arms limitation. The meeting was held with immediate and timely reference to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, scheduled to resume in Vienna, April 16. Reference was also made to the broader problem of slowing down the arms race and to the effect of military expenditures on national resources.

The meeting was held under the auspices of The American Assembly of Columbia University, which regularly convenes for the purpose of focusing attention on issues of public importance. The recommendations of this Assembly were adopted in the plenary session of April 2, after two previous days of discussions as a committee of the whole. (Because of the urgency of the topic, standard American Assembly procedures were modified somewhat for the occasion, and the number of participants was reduced accordingly. Many had taken part in earlier American Assembly programs on arms: Arms Control, 1960, and Nuclear Weapons, 1966.)

Adrian S. Fisher, dean of the Georgetown Law School and former deputy director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, prepared a background paper as the basis of discussion.

As a non-partisan educational institution The American Assembly takes no official stand on the opinions herein, which belong to the participants in their private capacities. They represented themselves and not necessarily the institutions or persons with whom they are associated.

#### FINAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY ON ARMS LIMITATION—1970

At the close of their discussions the participants in The American Assembly on Arms Limitation—1970 reviewed as a group the following statement. Although it represents general agreement, no one was asked to sign it, and it should not be assumed that every participant necessarily subscribes to every recommendation.

We call upon the President of the United States to propose to the Soviet Union, on a reciprocal basis, an immediate interim halt in the deployment of strategic offensive and defensive weapons and of tests of multiple warheads. To give this proposal a chance of success, we ask the President to defer for six months the impending deployment of Multiple Independently Targetable Re-Entry Vehicles (MIRVs).

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks are resuming in Vienna at a time when mankind has a unique opportunity to end the nuclear arms race. At present there exists a roughly equal and relatively stable nuclear balance between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. A rare coincidence of favorable political and strategic conditions provides a real but fleeting opportunity for agreement between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to halt the arms race in both quantity and quality of weapons, and then to diminish the threat to mankind posed by existing weapons. Whether agreement can be reached we do not know, but wisdom and common sense require every plausible effort to exploit the present promise.

This opportunity will be put in jeopardy if the U.S. soon deploys Multiple Independently Targetable Re-Entry Vehicles (MIRVs), or proceeds with plans for a modified Phase II Safeguard Anti-Ballistic Missile System (ABM), or if the Soviet Union extensively tests large ICBMs (SS-9) with multiple warheads (which may not themselves be independently targetable but may well be steps in the development of a Soviet multiple independently targetable delivery system).

The introduction of MIRVs into the present nuclear relationship would have the initial effect of substantially increasing the number of deliverable nuclear warheads available to each side. MIRV program will take on new dimensions as missile accuracy increases. When this occurs, it becomes pos-

sible for one side if it strikes first with missiles armed with MIRVs to take out more than one missile site with a single attacking missile. The obverse of this frightening coin is that each side may fear that, unless it strikes first, the MIRVed missiles of the other side may be able substantially to eliminate its own land-based ICBM force, with the other side still having substantial ICBM force left in reserve.

New and worrisome uncertainties would enter into the strategic calculations. For example, Secretary Laird has testified that 420 Soviet SS-9s with three warheads of five megatons each and an accuracy of one quarter of a mile could eliminate all but 50 of our Minutemen. Similar calculations by the Soviet Union would show that if the U.S. were to MIRV its Minutemen with three warheads, with yields approximating a quarter of a megaton each and having an accuracy of one-tenth of a mile, it could by using 580 Minutemen, eliminate all but 70 or so of the Soviet missile force.

Whatever their validity such calculations make it clear that both sides would feel more secure if neither one had a MIRV. The U.S. plan to deploy MIRVed Minuteman III in June of this year, within two months after the beginning of the talks, may well close the door on this possibility. Although the generation of MIRVs which would be deployed would not be capable of a first strike, this step would cast serious doubts on our seriousness in pursuing SALT. This would present the U.S.S.R. with a *fait accompli*. One of the most important things that the SALT talks could accomplish is to prevent the deployment of MIRVs. This opportunity should not be lost.

We in the American Assembly therefore call on the President to postpone this deployment for six months. Such deployment at this time would not contribute to our security. Far from improving our bargaining strength at SALT proceeding with that deployment would make negotiations more difficult, and would invite the Soviet Union in turn to present us with *faits accomplis*. No harm can result to our strategic posture by such delay, which will involve only a handful of land-based missiles in a MIRV program that is already being widely questioned as unnecessary, wasteful, and certainly premature, since the large Soviet ABM program it was designed to penetrate does not exist.

We also suggest that current U.S. and Soviet testing of multiple warheads complicates the political and strategic climate on which these negotiations depend. We urge mutual restraint in this regard.

We also urge postponement in implementing the proposed modified Phase II of the Safeguard System. The argument that going ahead with this program would strengthen our bargaining position at Vienna is not persuasive; authorizing armaments so that they can be included in a disarmament program soon reaches the point of diminishing returns. If both sides play this game, SALT will result in an increase in the arms race. Going ahead with modified Phase II Safeguards so soon after Phase I had been made a separate program would belie the promise of deliberate consideration upon which that separation was in part based. It would more likely give the Soviets the impression that the U.S. was determined to push the complete Safeguards program to a finish, come what may. This would make success in SALT less rather than more likely.

These measures of restraint will give our negotiators a chance. But the negotiation of a treaty at the SALT talks will be difficult and complex and may take years. To keep the present opportunity from eroding during this period, an interim halt is necessary to prevent any substantial changes in the rough strategic balance which now makes such an agreement possible.

We therefore urge the President of the United States to propose to the Soviet Union on a reciprocal basis, an immediate two-year suspension of the deployment of strategic offensive and defensive weapons and of the tests of multiple warheads. Specifically we propose that during this two-year period interim halt there would be:

1. No testing of any multiple warheads, whether MRV or MIRV;
2. No deployment of multiple warheads;
3. No new deployment of land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles;
4. No construction of Anti-Ballistic Missile radars or deployment of anti-ballistic missile interceptors;
5. No new "starts" on constructing submarines for launching ballistic missiles.

In such an interim agreement we see no necessity for limits on air defenses or on new bomber construction because developments in these areas do not carry an immediate potential for upsetting the present strategic balance.

The short term of the agreement and its comprehensive quality would simplify the requirement for inspection. From the standpoint of the U.S. security, compliance with these provisions can be adequately determined by national means of verification. In particular, the halt in Soviet buildup of ICBMs and SLBMs, including the SS-9, could be verified. With regard to the restrictions on multiple warhead testing, however, to enhance confidence during the interim halt, an understanding that missile tests will be pre-announced and restricted to designated areas may be desirable.

The restraints that we propose and an agreed interim halt would create an environment of stability and mutual confidence. In such an improved climate more lasting agreements, taking account of new technological and political developments, could be achieved.

We have not attempted to blueprint the details of a more permanent agreement; planning for it should take account of what is learned during the interim halt. Some of the major issues which would need to be taken into account during the negotiations of a treaty are:

1. *ABM levels.* A key question appears to be whether some level of ABMs is necessary for the U.S. in light of the developing Chinese nuclear capability. We believe that an area ABM is not vital to protecting U.S. interests in Asia and that we should be prepared to accept a mutually agreed zero ABM level if it improves the prospects for obtaining an effective agreement with the Soviet Union. Without an ABM, deterrence is as effective against China as against others; and a Safeguard system designed for area defense against the Chinese may, in the eyes of Soviet planners, pose a threat to their deterrent.

2. *Control on Missile Testing.* A ban on MIRVs would require a prohibition on all multiple warhead tests and limits on a number and location of all missile tests. We believe that such controls would be feasible and desirable.

3. *Reduction.* We believe that the U.S. should seek agreement on reduction in numbers of strategic systems. In particular the U.S. should consider proposing the phasing out of fixed land-based missiles which will become increasingly vulnerable even if MIRVs are banned.

Depending on how these and related issues are resolved, a whole range of agreements is possible. One type of agreement which most of us would favor would seek to freeze the existing situation by banning MIRVs and ABMs. A second type would concentrate on banning ABMs and phasing out fixed land-based missiles if it does not prove possible to ban MIRVs. A third type would focus on



freezing numbers of offensive missiles and limiting ABMs if it is not possible to ban MIRVs and if the judgment is reached that an area ABM against China is needed. On our current understanding of the issues most of us favored the first type of agreement.

We believe that the initiatives and agreements we propose will enhance U.S. security by improving the prospects for peace. These efforts can also lead to the wise and prudent use of our national resources. The expenditures thus avoided would amount to at least several billion dollars a year in the short run and much more in the long run if the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. enter into a new and costlier phase of the arms race. The SALT talks, and the clearer assessment of our real security requirements which may result from those talks, may prevent these expenditures. More of our resources can then be devoted to human needs, both at home and abroad. This is an important aspect of our national security. Unless urgent social needs are met, our national security may be progressively undermined, not by external threats but by failure to meet internal and justifiable social needs.

The negotiation of a treaty to end the arms race will involve many complex technical details. But the overriding considerations are not technical; they are deeply political. They require a fresh and clear re-assessment of the fundamentals of U.S. security.

We must recognize that it is at least as dangerous to focus on "worse cases" as it is to overlook significant threats to our deterrent. If one proceeds from the most pessimistic view of U.S. capabilities, and the most generous view of the Soviet capabilities, one arrives at a U.S. second-strike posture that may look to the Soviets so much like a first-strike posture that they will be inclined to

increase their own forces, thereby continuing the arms race and increasing the danger of nuclear war. In fact, the proper test for the adequacy of U.S. nuclear retaliatory power is not the U.S. worst estimate of its effectiveness, but the Soviet estimate of the damage it would suffer in a nuclear exchange. That estimate will not be based on assumptions that take the Soviet performance at its best possible level and the U.S. performance at its worst. If we arm against a "parade of imaginary horrors" on the part of an adversary, the adversary will do the same, and we will have devised a sure prescription for a dangerous and wasteful arms race.

We have made this mistake in the past, from a misdirected sense of caution. In the interests of our own security we must not make this mistake again. We must end the nuclear arms race.

#### PARTICIPANTS IN THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY ON ARMS LIMITATION—1970

Adrian S. Fisher, Dean, Georgetown University Law School (Discussion Leader and Director of Drafting).

Alexander, Archibald S., Bernardsville, New Jersey.

Bader, William B., New York.

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Brown, Courtney C., Editor, Columbia Journal of World Business.

Daniloff, Nicholas, United Press International, Washington, D.C.

Dudman, Richard, St. Louis Post Dispatch, Washington, D.C.

Finkelstein, Lawrence S., Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

Fischer, Benjamin B., Harriman Scholar, Columbia University.

Fitzgerald, Ernest, Businessmen's Educational Fund, Washington, D.C.

Gulick, Lewis, the Associated Press, Washington, D.C.

Halperin, Morton H., The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.

Henkin, Louis, Hamilton Fish Professor of International Law & Diplomacy, Columbia University.

Herzfeld, Charles M., Technical Director, Defense-Space Group, ITT, Nutley, New Jersey.

Knorr, Klaus, Center for International Studies, Princeton University.

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McDermott, Rev. Patrick P., S.J., Assistant Director, Division of World Justice & Peace, United States Catholic Conference, Washington, D.C.

Paffrath, Leslie, President, The Johnson Foundation, Racine.

Palfrey, John G., Professor of Law, Columbia University.

Parrent, Rev. Allan, Department of International Affairs, National Council of Churches, Washington, D.C.

Persinger, Mrs. Richard, Chairman, Committee on Public Affairs, National Board of the Y.W.C.A., New York.

Posvar, Wesley W., Chancellor, University of Pittsburgh.

Rathjens, George W., Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Scoville, Herbert, Jr., Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C.

Shulman, Marshall D., Director, The Russian Institute, Columbia University.

Stone, Jeremy J., International Affairs Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, New York.

Stuhler, Barbara, Associate Director, Minnesota World Affairs Council, Minneapolis.

Yarmolinsky, Adam, Professor of Law, Harvard University.

## SENATE—Friday, April 10, 1970

The Senate met at 9 o'clock a.m. and was called to order by the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. METCALF).

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O Lord, our Heavenly Father, almighty and everlasting God, who hast safely brought us to the beginning of this day; defend us in the same with Thy mighty power and grant that this day we fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger; but that all our doings, being ordered by Thy governance, may be righteous in Thy sight; through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

—The Book of Common Worship.

### THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, April 9, 1970, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### ORDER OF BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senator from Utah (Mr. Moss) is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Utah yield to me for some unanimous-consent requests?

Mr. MOSS. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Montana for that purpose.

### ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY, APRIL 13, AND RECOGNITION OF SENATOR FANNIN

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. And, that at the conclusion of the approval of the Journal, the distinguished Senator from Arizona (Mr. FANNIN) be recognized for not to exceed 30 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider a nomination on the executive calendar.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider executive business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nomination on the executive calendar will be stated.

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA REDEVELOPMENT LAND AGENCY

The assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of Stephen S. Davis, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the appropriate authorities be immediately notified of the confirmation of this nomination.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.